The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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Invitation to a Wake?
An Editorial

Franz Werfel and the Modern Temper
By Harold von Hofe

Catholicism Invades Rural America
By Harold E. Fey

An Industrial League of Free Peoples
By Clinton D. Winant

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In This Issue

CLINTON D. WINANT

is a member of the legal division of the United States Maritime Commission, with headquarters in Washington. The author of this suggested new approach to the problem of a post-war world organization is a graduate of Princeton and the Columbia law school. For more than twenty years he practiced law in Paris, during the same time studying conditions throughout the Continent and following with especial care the fortunes of the League of Nations. One of his brothers is the former governor of New Hampshire who is now American ambassador to Great Britain, while another is a member of the Near East division of the state department.

HAROLD E. FEY

is field editor of The Christian Century. As announced before, this series of articles on "Can Catholicism Win America?" will be reprinted in pamphlet form immediately after its final instalment appears in next week's issue. Persons wishing copies of these reprints would be well advised to get their orders in early, as the amount of paper which can be devoted to this purpose is limited.

HAROLD VON HOFE

has taught German at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, since 1939, and is at present chairman of that department. Born in Plainfield, N. J., Dr. von Hofe did his undergraduate work at New York University and obtained his doctorate at Northwestern. He studied in European universities for ten years, most of that time in Germany. He has written for many magazines and newspapers, much of his writing dealing with the effect of exile on the work of leading German authors. Recently he has collaborated with the war department in the preparation of a German-English Military Dictionary.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

January 10, 1945

CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON, *Editor*
PAUL HUTCHINSON, *Managing Editor*
WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON, *Literary Editor*
HAROLD E. FEY, *Field Editor*

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Calendar of Coming Events

Jan. 7-14. Universal Week of Prayer.
Jan. 8-12. Annual Meeting, Home Missions Council of North America, Atlantic City, N. J.
Jan. 10. East-West Association, Chicago; Krishnalal Shridharani, speaker.
Jan. 11. St. John's Lutheran Church Forum, Richmond Hill, N. Y.; Ralph W. Sockman, speaker.
Jan. 14. International Sunday.
Jan. 14. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Max Lerner, speaker.
Jan. 14. Second Congregational Church Forum, Waterbury, Conn.; Walter H. Judd, speaker.
Jan. 15. Chicago Tract Society.
Jan. 16. Federal Council of Churches, Executive Committee, New York.
Jan. 16-19. Study Conference, Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, Cleveland, O.
Jan. 18. St. John's Lutheran Church Forum, Richmond Hill, N. Y.; Allen Knight Chalmers, speaker.
Jan. 18. Ministerial Institute on Church and Synagogue Working Together in the Community, Temple University, Philadelphia.
Jan. 19-21. Race Relations Institute, Cleveland, O.
Jan. 22-24. Michigan Pastors' Conference, Ann Arbor.
Jan. 24-26. Missionary Assembly, Jacksonville, Fla.
Jan. 27-30. Missionary Assembly, Orlando, Fla.
Jan. 27-30. Missionary Assembly, Winter Park, Fla.
Jan. 28. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Ray Josephs, speaker.
Jan. 28-Feb. 4. Annual Protestant Youth Week.
Jan. 29-Feb. 1. Ohio Pastors' Convention, Columbus.
Jan. 30-Feb. 1. Western Section, Alliance of Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Toronto, Canada.
Jan. 30-Feb. 1. Missionary Assembly, DeLand, Fla.
Feb. 1, 2. Missionary Assembly, Daytona Beach, Fla.
Feb. 2. Candlemas.
Feb. 5. International Council of Religious Education, Columbus, O.
Feb. 7. East-West Association, Chicago; Edward Carter, speaker.
Feb. 11. Race Relations Day.
Feb. 12. Fellowship Forum, Philadelphia; Scott Nearing, speaker.
Feb. 12-23. Pastors' Short Course, Guilford College, N. C.
Feb. 14. Ash Wednesday.
Feb. 16. World Day of Prayer.
Feb. 18. Day of Prayer for Students.
Feb. 18. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Erika Mann, speaker.
Feb. 18-25. Brotherhood Week.
Feb. 23. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Luigi C. Ligutti, speaker.
Mar. 4. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; John Haynes Holmes, speaker.
Mar. 12. Fellowship Forum, Philadelphia; A. Philip Randolph, speaker.
Mar. 25. Annunciation.
Mar. 25. Palm Sunday.
Mar. 30. Good Friday.
Apr. 1. Easter.
Apr. 1. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Jerome Davis, speaker.
May 10. Ascension Day.
May 13. Mother's Day.
May 21-28. Northern Baptist Convention, Grand Rapids, Mich.
May 23. General Assembly, United Presbyterian Church, Dayton, O.
May 24. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the U. S., Montreat, N. C.
May 24. Presbyterian General Assembly, Minneapolis, Minn.
June 7. General Synod, Reformed Church in America, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

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EDITORIAL

AFTER a month of civil war, peace seems in sight in Athens. We say Athens rather than Greece, for it is now admitted that the royalist troops with their British allies never held more than parts of the capital and its port of Piraeus. The outcome of the fighting must be accounted a sensational victory for the ELAS (leftist) party and its EAM guerrillas. Despite the spectacular dash of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden to Athens, and the reported belligerence of the prime minister in telling the ELAS leaders who conferred with him that their only choice was between accepting Britain's terms or a British occupation of all Greece, there is nothing in the terms on which peace is about to be restored which the Greek partisans would not have accepted at the beginning. Indeed, these terms are practically identical with those for which the partisans began to fight. The king has stepped aside for a regent; the regent is the generally trusted Archbishop Damaskinos; Premier Papandreou has resigned; Mr. Churchill has given his word that the coming plebiscite on continuation of the monarchy will be honestly conducted; establishment of the regency has not been made dependent on disarmament of the EAM. To a large extent this victory has been won by the resolution of the Greek people. But the Greeks would be less than just if they failed to recognize the part which English public opinion has played in defeating Churchill's truculent imperialism. It was his recognition that the British public would not stand longer for the employment of British troops to shoot down freedom-seeking Greeks that forced Churchill to back down—that, and the warnings he received from Washington as to what his policy was doing to Anglo-American relations.

Regency Rules In Greece

German Drive Loses Force

ALTHOUGH experience has taught caution in predicting the future course of German armies, it does look as though Von Rundstedt's lunge into Belgium and Luxembourg has been pretty well halted. It did not reach any vital territorial objectives, such as Antwerp or the French coast. And it is not yet clear whether the Germans will try to hold the ground they have gained or will pull back into the Siegfried line to await the next Allied onslaught with a new confidence. In any event, they have won a great victory. They have inflicted enormous losses in *materiel* and sobering losses in casualties on the American forces; they have upset Eisenhower's timetable of invasion and delivered a more damaging blow to the campaigns of MacArthur and Nimitz in the Pacific than the Japanese have ever been able to strike; they have given morale within the Reich a desperately needed psychological lift and correspondingly shaken the hitherto serene confidence of the American people. Americans now see the occupation of Germany in terms of its difficulties, where formerly they looked at it in terms of its certain outcome. One result is that not only have plans for V-E Day celebrations been dropped, but there is a general sense of shame at ever having discussed them. As might be expected, Von Rundstedt's victory is being followed by demands for a change in the Allied high command. Changes there undoubtedly will be, but probably not at the very top. Hitler's jibes, in his New Year's speech, at past Allied predictions of quick victory, found their mark. Unless Russia returns to the offensive in Poland almost immediately, no one now expects that Germany will be conquered for many long and terrible months.

Vatican Shifts Attitude In Relation to France

CARDINAL TISSERANT, close friend of Pius XI for many years, one of the most intimate advisers of Pius XII and a resident member of the papal curia at Rome, has just completed an extensive tour through France, undertaken with the approval of the pope. He has issued a statement which must, in the opinion of "Pertinax," indicate a complete shift of Vatican attitude and policy in relation to France. For the past four years

that attitude has been one of approval toward the Petain regime. The aged marshal began to show favors to the Catholic Church as soon as he took office, and the French hierarchy and the Vatican returned the compliment. Cardinal Gerlier, archbishop of Lyons, made it his familiar slogan that "Petain is France and France is Petain"; and other members of the hierarchy acclaimed the "new order" of collaboration with the German invaders. But now Cardinal Tisserant declares that Petain is "devoid of all moral and religious convictions," as he has known ever since the First World War, and that Petain's collaborationist policy can have had the approval of the higher clergy in France only because they did not know Hitler's program as revealed in *Mein Kampf*. The explanation is pretty thin, but the state of mind that it indicates is important, and especially so since it can fairly be taken as showing a shift in Vatican diplomacy. It is not to be supposed that the pope has just discovered Hitler's masterpiece or that he is now for the first time learning which side Petain has been on in the struggle between liberty and nazism in France. Perhaps he has learned—though he ought to have known it before, if his information service is so marvelously complete as we are always being told—that the French lower clergy in general have been with the forces of resistance. And so, for this and other reasons, as "Pertinax" says: "The holy see, which wants to keep close to the France of tomorrow, is realigning itself by the side of that majority." There's leadership! To back the cause of liberty not because it is right but because it now seems to have a majority.

Allies Try to Find Out What Russia Is Doing

SO MUCH has been said recently about tension between the United States and Great Britain that it is well to bear in mind there is quite as much lack of understanding between the western Allies and Russia. This was brought clearly into view last week when Britain and America asked Moscow to explain the removal of equipment from the Rumanian oil fields. Controlling interest in all but about a quarter of the Rumanian oil industry has been American, British, Dutch or French. Just how much machinery the Russians have transferred to Russian fields is not known; it is largely because the Anglo-American representatives on the Allied Control Commission for Rumania are not allowed to investigate that a formal demand for an accounting and explanation has now been made on Moscow. In itself, this is probably only a minor matter. But it reveals how little the western Allies really know about what is going on either in Russia or in territory occupied by Russian troops. The world knows all about the unrest and difficulties in British- and American-occupied territory in Greece, Italy and Belgium. Little or nothing, however, is known about what is going on in Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, Finland or the Russian-occupied portions of Hungary. Not only are all but Russian press correspondents kept out of these regions, but official commissions sent by the British and American governments are not allowed to investigate. For example, Russia has now twice expelled American military missions from Bulgaria. Such an international body as UNNRA has been barred from Russian-held regions, despite the need for civilian relief. At present, it is probable that most Americans believe that only Britain is having trouble in the parts of Europe her armies have occupied. Yet when the facts come out—if they ever do—it may be found that quite as much resort to harsh measures has been required where the Russian armies have gone. Stalin, so far as his allies are concerned, still operates behind an impenetrable veil.

Public Opinion Polls Are An Inexact Science

IT WAS a shock to many readers to learn, from his own admission to a congressional committee, that the father and founder of the "Gallup poll" does not trust the findings of his own samplers of public opinion and sometimes pushes the figures around before giving them to the public in order to bring them into line with his own judgment as to the probabilities. That is why Mr. Dewey ran better in the Gallup poll than he did in the election. The actual figures turned in by the canvassers were not far wrong. But Dr. Gallup applied "artificial coloring" to them, with misleading results. Of course this implies not necessarily a desire to misrepresent the state of public opinion from political or other motives, but rather an imperfect technique for estimating it. The last-minute "corrections" applied to the statistics collected by the interviewers were made in accordance with some sort of formula; something like corrections for wind and other variable factors in aiming a piece of artillery, Dr. Gallup might say. Others might think of a helmsman who turns the compass so that its north will be where he thinks it ought to be. The truth would lie between the two representations. There are correction factors, but they have to be estimated by rule of thumb rather than measured. For example, Dr. Gallup guessed that a light vote would be favorable to Dewey, and he guessed that the vote would be light; therefore he raised the Dewey figures by two per cent, guessing that there might be about this much difference between the poll and the vote. It goes to show, as Dr. Gallup admitted to the committee, that "we still have a lot to learn about scientific polling." But Dr. Gallup would not himself be in quite such an embarrassing position if he had been a little more candid with the public last fall.

The Army Means to Train Fighters

SOME much needed candor entered the discussion of proposals for peacetime conscription when the army let it be known that the only kind of postwar draft it is interested in is one which will put all American boys into the armed forces for a year and train them for combat service *and nothing else*. In a circular distributed to officers the army says: "There will be no place in a sound universal military training program for activities that are non-essential to the task of preparing our young men

for combat." To some opponents of a peacetime draft such talk may sound repelling. We welcome it, however, as a step toward ending the deceit and double-talk which hitherto has characterized presentation of this proposal. Listening to the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, many Americans have concluded that the peacetime conscription program would be either some form of college education or of social service for their sons. The President has himself compared it with the old CCC soil and forest conservation work. The army's circular should put an end to all that nonsense. Peacetime conscription in this country is to be of the same nature as that long practiced in the conscript armies of Europe. That is what the army is aiming for, and we have no doubt as to the decision which the American people will reach once that has been made plain. Meanwhile, however, it is of more than passing interest to notice that the army's circular says that "America will probably be the initial objective of the aggressors in any next war, and the first engagements of that war will quite possibly be fought in our own homeland." If that is so, even the militarists would seem to regard this as a lost war. For their argument has been that the United States must fight this war in order to disarm potential aggressors and to obtain such strategic bases and other defenses as would render impossible the future attacks on the American homeland that are now predicted as "quite possible." If the war is going to leave the mainland of the United States just as exposed to the likelihood of invasion as ever it was before we went to war, then it would seem logical for the army men to ask, from their own premises, why are we fighting?

Three and a Half Years in a Federal Penitentiary!

A FEDERAL JUDGE in Michigan has sentenced Dr. Don Charles DeVault to serve three and a half years in a federal penitentiary. That's a stiff sentence. What had Dr. DeVault done to incur it? When the United States entered the war he was teaching chemistry at Stanford University, and carrying on research in the same field. He tried to register as a conscientious objector (IV-E), but his draft board classified him II-A and gave him a six months' deferment to go on with his scientific research. Later, he was again deferred and transferred to a II-B (engaged in essential work) classification. But a government agent took Dr. DeVault's case to an appeal board, which reclassified him 1-A-O, which stands for non-combatant service in the army. DeVault refused to enter the army, was arrested, tried, convicted and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. Halfway through this term he was paroled and reclassified IV-E. In other words, after keeping him in prison for almost a year the government placed him in the c. o. classification he had applied for at the beginning. As a IV-E he was sent to a C.P.S. camp at Mancos, Colorado. There he was detailed to ditch digging and truck driving, but in his spare time he was able to start research with another c. o. chemist on penicillin molds. Since he considered his efforts in developing penicillin as far more "work of national importance" than ditch digging, Dr. DeVault petitioned for transfer to detached service in that field of research. In reply, the government sent him to the C.P.S. camp for "non-cooperative" objectors. There he continued his experiments in his leisure time, but when another plea to be allowed to concentrate on them was turned down he refused to carry out further camp assignments. Result: three and a half years in a federal penitentiary. "If there is any sense in this wasting of a man's skill, we cannot see it," the *Washington Post* comments editorially. "If there is any justice in this punishment of a man because of his conscience, it is beyond our discernment. We say that this is stupid and ugly—and unbecoming to a great free people engaged in a war for the freedom of the human conscience."

Pension Security for Lay Church Workers

THE National Council of the Episcopal Church is getting stirred up over pensions for lay workers, especially women, in church employ. It is high time that someone was aroused. There are thousands of such women in church offices. Some of them serve in denominational boards, some of them on the staffs of local parishes. Many are highly skilled; some have advanced collegiate degrees. Almost all serve with a devotion rarely displayed in business enterprises. To many a parish worker or pastor's secretary a seven-day week is a matter of course, and as for overtime pay after forty hours of work in a week—well, that is just something that they read about in the papers or hear of from their acquaintances in war plants. These lay workers, however, are not eligible for the benefits of the social security laws, for they are employed by church organizations which are exempted from social security provisions. A great many churchmen have argued that for the churches to allow their employees to be placed under the social security administration would be to compromise the principle of separation of church and state. When they said this they probably had the old-age security of ministers primarily in mind, and it is a fact that most denominations try to treat their ordained workers justly by operating clerical pension funds. Little or nothing has been done, nevertheless, to provide the same justice for lay workers. The Episcopal National Council did not make much progress in its first attack on this problem. After talking all around it, the proposal for an insurance protection system for lay workers comparable to that which protects ministers was referred back to a committee for further study. But now that the issue is out in the open, agitation is likely to continue until something adequate is done. We hope the agitation spreads to other churches also.

Propose National System Of Health Insurance

CAN AMERICANS keep well and remain free? Is it possible to place medical care within reach of everybody without diluting the quality of that care? Is group practice compatible with the physician's liberty to accept or reject patients? The Health Program Confer-

ence says the answer to all these questions is Yes! This impressive new body includes leading physicians, members of the staffs of the Rockefeller Foundation and the United States Public Health Service, economists who have specialized on medical costs, labor leaders from both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. and governmental administrators. The recommendations in its first report differ from the proposals of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Health Insurance Bill, now before Congress, in several respects. Instead of centralized administration, this new proposal provides for decentralized administration. It favors the inclusion of private hospitals and voluntary health insurance plans. It includes representation of both physicians and the public in the committees which determine policy. The adoption of such a program, the conference members believe, would result in a democratic system of health insurance, including everybody in the nation. Under this plan, employees, employers and self-employed persons would be required by law to contribute in proportion to earning capacity. The total cost would remain well within the three per cent of its income which the average American family now spends on doctor and hospital bills. Funds would be collected through the general social security collection which is now in effect. Payments would thus be placed on a systematic and regular basis. Physicians would be free to accept or refuse patients and to enter or decline to enter the public system of health insurance. Professional competition would continue to be encouraged while financial competition between doctors would be eliminated. Patients would be free to choose their own doctors and hospitals. While the conference has not presented this plan in the form of an amendment to the health proposal now before Congress, it is expected that the eminence of the conference personnel will secure for it careful consideration in that body.

A Warning in the Dark

IS the United States again marching down the imperialist road to empire in Asia? Twenty-one American church leaders, all of whom have lived and worked in the Orient, give their considered answer as Yes. They base their conclusion on the place to be accorded Japan in the postwar world under the present plan for military domination by three great powers. Disastrous consequences are certain to follow, they warn, unless this policy is abandoned. Japan cannot be reduced to the level of a third-class agricultural people and held there by armed force without an explosion which will make of the whole Pacific area "a cockpit of empire." Their statement, which appears on page 56 of this issue of The Christian Century, deserves careful study.

These churchmen are far more realistic concerning the indubitable dangers of the power struggle on which we have been launched than are others who have not had their advantage of appraising at first hand the strength of Asiatic nationalism. They are also completely skeptical concerning the fatalism which proclaims that this country has no alternative but empire. Our present policy, they hold, is practically unworkable and ethically wrong. We may be able to destroy enough life and property to force an unconditional surrender on Japan. We may occupy the Japanese home islands. But without the voluntary cooperation of the Japanese people, we cannot enforce a reconstruction which will fundamentally change their outlook. All efforts to do so by force alone will result only in failure, disillusionment and disaster.

We believe that the statement of these twenty-one Christian leaders deserves consideration for three reasons. First, they make it unmistakably clear that the attempt to set up a world organization on the basis of military domination will lead inevitably to American empire in Asia. History reveals not one instance where continued domination by armed force has not led to economic and political commitments which have involved the occupying power in an ever deepening morass of oppression, injustice and war. There is no reason to believe that the United States can get into this sort of thing and escape the fate that has overtaken every empire from Assyria to Britain. A plan of world organization which rests on a division of the globe into three spheres of armed domination is a plan foredoomed to bloody frustration.

Second, these men have courageously recalled the Christian church in America to its long cherished and deeply held faith that the only alternative to empire is a world organization based on "a world community of spirit and interest." By its nature such a world organization must include *all* nations, and not the victors only. Its political authority depends not on omnipresent bayonets but on an agreed system of law. Justice in the settlement of disputes is found in judicial processes, not in fleets of bombers. The consent of the governed is won through government which is not only regulatory but constructive. Human welfare, as these Christian leaders point out, is the "sharp alternative" to a victor's peace which is no peace.

Third, these twenty-one realists recognize that this alternative appears neither in Dumbarton Oaks nor in any other proposal now receiving serious consideration among the prospective victors. This fact, they rightly maintain, increases the world responsibility of the Christian community. Instead of yielding to the counsels of despair which would rationalize empire and clothe imperialism with the sanction of the churches' blessing, they declare that the Christian community must in such a time of universal cynicism reaffirm its commitment to reconciliation. The church has a duty of its own and never has that obligation been more pressing than now when international morality has sunk to a level of primeval brutality unknown for centuries.

There is no way out for Japan, it is said, except in a postwar world where the relationship of peoples is governed by a universal order of equality under law. It might be said with equal truth that neither is there a way out for America or for any other nation except on this basis. The policy which would build up China as a counterweight to Japan and as a buffer to keep Russia from the Pacific will go the way of all balances of power. China's hope also must depend upon her integration into an inter-

national system based on the welfare of her people as members of a world community. The same is true for India, for the peoples of southeast Asia, and for every other nation bordering the Pacific.

The time to realize this is now. We already dominate the greater part of the vast Pacific basin. The terms on which the peoples in lands bordering the Pacific will live in the decade following the war will be dictated by America. Twenty-one churchmen who are justly entitled to be known as citizens of this Pacific world have issued an appeal that these terms shall make for peace, not for war; for community, not for empire. Theirs may be a still, small voice crying a warning in the night, but because they cry, the night is peopled with hope.

Invitation to a Wake?

FOUR HUNDRED delegates from the churches in the Federal Council are to meet in Cleveland next week in a study conference called by the council's Commission on a Just and Durable Peace. What are they meeting for? The impression is widespread that they are meeting primarily to consider the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for a "general international organization" to maintain peace in the postwar world. These representatives of American Protestantism, it is predicted, will spend most of their time weighing the merits of the Dumbarton Oaks plan for a new league and discussing methods of rallying the churches for the support of that plan. At the time the Cleveland meeting was projected, and during the weeks while two preliminary commissions were preparing reports to be submitted to the conference, this seemed like a natural and indeed necessary agenda. At that time, it may be recalled, the Catholic bishops were preparing the statement on Dumbarton Oaks which they issued in November. But Dumbarton Oaks no longer is of sufficient importance to provide the central topic of a church gathering concerned with the future peace of the world.

Events are moving fast these days. And in no direction are they moving faster than in the shaping of the postwar world. Since the Dumbarton Oaks plan was announced, the results of the secret agreements reached at Teheran have begun to come to light. There, it is now apparent, Russia and Great Britain agreed upon a political and diplomatic division of Europe. The governments of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, hitherto recognized by the Anglo-American allies, are to be wiped out. Belgium, Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are being reduced to the status of puppet states. France is driven back into a system of offensive and defensive military alliances. Europe, in other words, has reverted to power politics. Its postwar world is not to be a voluntary federation. It is not to acknowledge the authority of a court administering genuine international law. It is not to establish the rights of weak nations. It is not even to depend upon a system of collective security. Postwar Europe, as recent developments reveal, is to be based on naked power politics, operating within a balance-of-power framework.

Moreover, since Dumbarton Oaks the "United Nations" have faced one more test of their actual will to cooperate after the war—faced it and ignominiously failed it. That test came at the Chicago conference on postwar civil aviation. Russia would not even attend, withdrawing her delegates when they were within a few hours of the place of meeting on a pretext so flimsy that it must have been intended to be regarded as derisive. And the United States and Great Britain found themselves at odds from the opening session, with the British delegate inserting a reservation at the last moment that almost destroyed what little value there was in the minor agreements that were signed to save the conference from confession of utter failure.

In the presence of such an actual situation as this, what becomes of Dumbarton Oaks? It is left the palest of ghosts. It slips through the corridors of the world's chancelleries so insubstantial a wraith that no man can lay hand on it and say, "Here is a living, breathing, corporeal body!" From the very beginning there has been doubt whether Stalin had any interest in breathing the breath of life into Dumbarton Oaks, or whether it had any reality for Churchill except as a possible means of securing an American guarantee of the territories and interests of the British empire. But now, with postwar Europe shaping up as it is, with the reversion to power politics in full swing, even Senator Ball declares that unless the international diplomatic situation quickly and drastically changes there is no possibility of American ratification of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. As matters stand at this moment when the Cleveland conference is about to meet, Dumbarton Oaks is moribund.

For what purpose, then, are the delegates going to Cleveland? Is it an invitation to a wake to which they are responding? Will Cleveland turn out to be four days spent sitting up with a corpse—four grisly days during which four hundred representatives of the churches will try to persuade themselves that they can later persuade the people in their congregations that this thing called Dumbarton Oaks is alive, has power, means lasting peace?

Of course, it has always been true that those who tried to make the mass of Americans believe Dumbarton Oaks would provide a true federation of all nations and peoples for the building of a lasting peace have faced an almost impossible task. In desperation they have been driven to saying: "Take what you can get now as the best that our allies will approve, and then go to work within the new organization to make it something far different. We agree that what is now offered is a terrible disappointment. We agree that it is not the inclusive and genuinely cooperative world body for which you thought you were fighting. But take this, bad as it is, and later make it what it should be." Yet while they said it, they have known that the Dumbarton Oaks charter contains no provisions for change, that it contains complete provisions for blocking change, and that there is no basis whatever for belief that nations which in this hour of peril will not offer anything better in the form of world or-

ganization than this military alliance will change their policies in the future.

From the start, those who have been trying to commend Dumbarton Oaks to the American public have been up against the existence of the five fatal weaknesses that are imbedded in that document. First, they have known that its provisions for the use of force to restrain and subdue aggressors are a fake. John Foster Dulles, chairman of the Federal Council's peace commission, has already spent much time demonstrating to the council that these sections of the proposed charter are nothing but "scenery." Professor William E. Hocking, writing in these pages (issue of November 22), has thoroughly exposed the shabby deceit. Second, they have known that the projected league is actually only a military alliance of the powers holding permanent membership in the council, with final power not even in the hands of the council but in those of the committee of the chiefs of staff of the permanent council members which will tell the council what it can and cannot do. Third, they have known that the provision that "the general assembly should not on its own initiative make recommendations on any matter relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the security council," grants the powers an absolute veto of any action or discussion by the small nations out of accord with the wishes of any major power. Fourth, they have known that the proposed charter is mute on the issues of imperialism. And fifth, they have known that the prohibition against consideration by the new league of "domestic" questions means that colonial peoples are left without means of securing consideration or redress of their grievances, since any power holding colonies has only to assert that they constitute a "domestic" matter to rule them out-of-bounds for the league.

But Dumbarton Oaks is not perishing today on account of those weaknesses. Conceivably, they could be corrected. At least in theory, that is what the present period for public discussion is supposed to be attempting. No, Dumbarton Oaks is a ghost-project today because the common sense of the common people has asserted itself to ask one question: What kind of peace is this Dumbarton Oaks charter asking us to guarantee? Until that question can be answered in a way to satisfy the moral demands of the American people, any effort to make them rise to enthusiastic support of Dumbarton Oaks is just so much time wasted. For with that sound and intuitive wisdom which gives meaning to the term "common sense," the American people are beginning to realize that there is a prior issue before the issue of ratification or rejection of the Dumbarton Oaks treaty will really come up. That issue is this: What kind of peace will the nations that go into the Dumbarton Oaks league be expected to maintain?

All of which has a direct bearing on the coming proceedings at Cleveland. What should the delegates be doing during their four days there? Should they analyze the Dumbarton Oaks proposals? Should they deal as frankly with the shortcomings of those proposals as did the Catholic bishops? Should they outline with care and in detail the changes in the Dumbarton Oaks charter which the delegates believe are required? Yes, they should do all these things. But if that is all they do, or even if it is the main part of what they do, the Cleveland conference will probably be out of date by the time it adjourns. The test at Cleveland will be whether the conference will face the actual issues which confront the American people in the light of recent developments, and whether these representatives of the churches prove to have any clear word by which to guide the American people in dealing with those issues.

That is to say, if Cleveland deals with the issues actually involved in America's relations with the postwar world, it will deal with the nature of the coming peace, the nature of the treatment to be accorded Germany and Japan, the future of the colonial system, the nature of postwar territorial, economic and financial arrangements, the extent of postwar disarmament and armament, and cognate definite, immediate, inescapable issues. It will consider what the United States will have to do, in its dealings with its allies, if the war is to produce any outcome that can be defended as a justification of its sacrifices. And if Cleveland does this the result, we predict, will be to drive it back to the insights of the "First Delaware"—the insights which came out of that gathering both in its Guiding Principles and in its specific proposals.

The first Delaware had things to say about power politics, about balances of power, about imperialism, about the rights of small nations, about international economic cooperation and—underlying all else—about the authority of the moral law which mightily need saying again at this hour. The conception of a postwar order that came out of Delaware had life in it. It could face a moral test confidently and command deep loyalties. It could be presented to the people and to their representatives in government with enthusiasm, with conviction and without apology. It was not utopianism. It was not perfectionism. But it also was not moral abdication. It was the Christian church speaking in the prophetic tone which even the most secularistic of government officials regard it as the duty of the church to employ.

That is the tone, that the spirit in which Cleveland needs to speak to the government and people of the United States today if the moral basis of the coming peace is to be saved. That moral basis, as was said in these pages last week, is being lost. The President and the Congress must be pulled up with a jolt if this moral retreat is not to continue; yes, if there is to be a peace even half as just as that which those unabashed cynics, Metternich, Talleyrand and Castlereagh, worked out at Vienna 130 years ago.

The principal business before the Cleveland conference, therefore, is to speak to the nation on the nature of the coming peace. Win a decent peace, a reconciling peace, and a true "general international organization" for its maintenance will become not only possible but inevitable. But let that peace degenerate into a vicious scramble for power blocs, for puppets and satellites, for empire, for trade advantages, for strategic frontiers, and the Dumbarton Oaks scheme will pass from its present state of suspended animation into final death. For the moment, the dele-

gates of the churches must lift their sights from Dumbarton Oaks to this task of rescuing the moral basis of the peace. Only if that is done will Dumbarton Oaks stand a chance of resurrection.

The Mob and the Cop

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: It was the morning after the student riot. The heroes of that "roughhouse" were in court paying for their crowded hours of glorious life to a cold and unsympathetic world through the cold medium of cash. The lawyer, good man as he was, could only plead that his clients were doubtless guilty, but that they had been led astray by mob hysteria, and should be treated mercifully. The pains endured by the cop who had attracted to himself the anger of the mob he was sure would be understood by everyone. Youth has always resented law and order represented by the cop. But the thing to remember, he argued, is that youth is liable to mob hysteria, and seeing that we have now this scientific diagnosis, leniency is befitting.

All this may be admitted. But do you never in your critical mind put this question: How far is the patient, suffering from this mob hysteria, also a kindler of it? Who leads, and who is led? Do the same men at once make the mob and be led by it? Or has every member of the mob a claim to be excused because of the mob hysteria, and to be condemned because he helps to set it going?

You will agree, I am sure, that the mob is a fact in human society, and it does not become less serious a danger when we classify its manifestations with hysteria or treat it as a chapter in a learned discourse on mass movements. Indeed, in the coming age in which we are advised to look for our salvation to such mass movements, we shall have to be on guard against the mob.

Against the violation of public order even for the sake of a crowded hour of glorious life, society has reared for its bulwark the cop. And although it cannot always be claimed that that officer keeps his head, it must be admitted that something in him draws the attention of the mob. Upon him and especially upon his head-dress the mob concentrates its gaze. There used to be something irresistibly funny in his helmet; to knock it off or better still to capture it was the prize set before those adventurers. Now that he wears a cap, there is no such enticing target. But society ought not to desert its servants. Mob hysteria very often means the sacrifice of the cop to the victims of that disease who are notably also its conductors. And society cannot think lightly of such a betrayal.

Anyone who wants material for a story of mob hysteria can find it amply in the Bible. The story of the golden calf can be read; and the records of the priests of Baal on Mount Carmel; or the riot of the Ephesian craftsmen, whose hysteria, not for the last time, had an economic element in it. Nothing helps a mob to its abandonment of all respect for law and order more than a jealous devotion to their economic welfare.

It is a comparatively mild case when youth celebrates some great historic or recent triumph. Let judges, lawyers, doctors, preachers who are entitled to do so cast the first stone—someone must pass sentence—but it will not be too heavy a stone. The men and women of mature years who loose the hysteria for ends of their own, who in place of law set the prejudice and violence of the mob, these are the enemies of society. For a modern nation to hand over the cop to the mob is the way to decline and fall.

In a fine city, there are many crowds, but there is no hysteria in them. In the best city of all the cop would have nothing to do, and the law would be that best of all laws, that which is never put into action.

Ever yours,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

The Gripsholm

THIS is a ship of echoes and strange sounds,
Of alternating cargoes out of bounds
And hostile to each other. Phantoms hide,
Avoid each other grimly, but collide
Sometimes in doorways or on ladder rungs—
Unblending enemy steps and alien tongues,
Ghosts that for all their circumspection tread
The selfsame deck, and smile or sob in the same narrow bed.

In dream I thought I saw this eerie ship
Halted in some transoceanic trip.
She drifted as though empty, then a shout
Went up and multitudes emerged and moved about.
The sturdy Swedish hull began to creak
When all this concourse rose, as one, to speak,
Deliberately informed the listening air:
"We common people of the world do solemnly declare . . ."

White waves of peace ringed slowly to the coasts.
—Was it a dream? Was it the work of ghosts?

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE.

Fetters

THE gyves of death can never bind
The chosen lords of song;
Their lyrics speed upon the wind,
Their words as steel are strong.

The only mortals death can hold
Are they who write their wills on gold.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

An Industrial League of Free Peoples

By Clinton D. Winant

WITH the peace plan of the Dumbarton Oaks conferences now before them, the American people should do some hard thinking about the kind of world order they are willing to join with other free peoples in establishing and maintaining. In examining the Dumbarton Oaks peace plan, it is helpful to ask the question, What was the fundamental error of the peace of Versailles? The fundamental error of the authors of the Versailles treaty was that they attempted to build a twentieth century peace on nineteenth century foundations. They built their so-called peace on nationalism. A twentieth century peace to be permanent should have been built on the solid foundations of industrialism.

A world organization of nations formed simply for the purpose of perpetuating the political independence of its members can never establish permanent world peace. A world system of nationalism definitely blocks the economic advancement of peoples. For the technological methods of modern industry are on such a scale that they cannot be profitably employed for the limited production of small nations. A world system of industrialism, however, would open up to all peoples unlimited opportunities for economic advancement. In place, therefore, of the League of Nations' negative concept of "collective security" there must be substituted the positive concept of "collective industry."

In the twentieth century all nations must join together to establish and maintain a world industry capable of supplying the needs of all peoples. Nations acting separately can never supply those needs. World security will follow upon the establishment of world industry. The creation of a world industry requires political action on the regional level as well as political action on the interregional or world level.

Regional Industrial Organization

The aim of regional industrial organization should be the creation and maintenance of a regional industry capable of supplying the needs of the region directly or indirectly through exchanges with other regions. The industrial exploitation of the resources, materials and manpower of one region for the benefit of peoples of another region must cease.

The kind of industry that each region can develop must, of course, depend upon the resources and technical skill available within the region. Even where regional resources are very limited, the development of technical skill will permit of the highest type of industrial production. An outstanding example of "quality" production is that furnished by the little republic of Switzerland. The wants of each region which cannot be met directly by regional industry must, of course, be supplied by the industrial production of other regions. In other words, regional production must be supplemented by interregional or world production.

Let us assume that all the nations of the world are grouped in seventeen industrial blocs.* These seventeen blocs can then be incorporated in a world organization of seventeen members. The executive council of such a world organization would be in a position to examine all questions submitted to it from the point of view of what is best for the welfare of all peoples; that is, to integrate production programs for peace requirements as well as the present Combined Production and Resources Board of the United States, Great Britain and Canada does for the war requirements of all peoples. Note carefully that in the political organization outlined above we have a *new* standard for the solution of interregional or world questions. Most of our questions with Great Britain, for example, fall into the category of interregional questions; that is, they are questions between North America on the one hand and Great Britain or the dominions on the other. Instead, therefore, of Great Britain and the United States each trying to impose its national standards on the other, all vexing questions between regions would be decided by reducing such questions to the common denominator of a world standard.

One Production Program

The recent American proposal for the creation of a world oil commission to allocate the petroleum exports of the producing regions recognizes the need for some such world standard.

Our enemies contend that this war is simply an attempt on the part of the industrial nations with large free trade areas to keep the areas by force of arms. To meet this contention squarely the United States, Great Britain, Russia and China should be prepared to say to the peoples of enemy nations: "We believe your economic difficulties can be solved by the grouping of peoples in regional blocs and by combining the resources of these regional blocs in one world production program. If you will abandon your ideas of political domination over other peoples we will form an Industrial League of Free Peoples that will effect this fundamental reform in world living."

Such a proposal would, of course, be nothing but the application of democratic principles to interregional or world affairs. For national rights must be subordinated to regional needs and regional rights must be subordinated

*Member Blocs in an Industrial League

America
1. North American Bloc
2. Central American Bloc
3. South American Bloc

Oceania
4. Oceanian Bloc

Europe
5. Northern Bloc
6. Western Bloc
7. Central Bloc
8. Balkan Bloc

Africa
9. North African Bloc
10. East African Bloc
11. West African Bloc
12. South African Bloc

Asia
13. Russian Bloc
14. Near Eastern Bloc
15. Indian Bloc
16. Chinese Bloc
17. Japanese Bloc

to world needs. In other words, in an industrial world nations have not only rights but also intraregional and interregional obligations.

Now it may properly be asked what inducements could be offered to the smaller nations of the world so that they would be willing to join together in the creation of regional industrial blocs. This question brings us to the subject of action on the interregional or world level.

Industrial Organization of Europe

The interest of the United States, the British empire, China and Russia in establishing permanent peace in Europe and Asia can hardly be overstated. If industrial blocs will assist in bringing permanent peace to Europe and Asia, the United States, the British empire, China and Russia should be ready and willing to undertake, in concert with the European and Asiatic nations, the formation of a world association which would integrate the industrial blocs of the United States, the British empire, China and Russia, and any industrial blocs established in Europe and Asia.

No European nation west of Russia has, as a self-contained unit, sufficient materials and resources for modern industrial production. Better to understand the situation in continental Europe, consider for a moment the position of the two greatest industrial nations outside of continental Europe, the United States and Great Britain. The area of the United States is almost equal to that of Europe and this area is one solid free trade bloc. The free trade area of Great Britain is the British empire. The free trade areas of the United States and Great Britain are certainly ample for the development of an industry great enough to support large sections of the population of those two countries.

Consider also the position of Russia. That country represents 60 per cent of the total area of Europe and its domain in Asia is about one and one-half times the area of all Europe. The free trade area of Russia is certainly great enough to develop an industry capable of supporting even a larger portion of its population than that now employed in industry.

Solutions That Won't Solve

Now examine the position of the two most important industrial nations in continental Europe, Germany and Italy. Prewar Germany represented about five per cent only of the total area of Europe and in that area there were some 80,000,000 Germans. Prewar Italy represented about three per cent of the total area of Europe and within that area there were, according to the latest Swiss figures, 44,000,000 Italians. From these facts it seems obvious that the free trade areas possessed by Germany and Italy were far too limited for the development of industries which could support their respective populations. Of course, the situation here described existed in other parts of the world but not in such an aggravated form as in continental Europe.

The key to any permanent European peace is so to arrange Europe politically that it will be able to support at least two large industrial populations. How can this problem be solved with justice to all the nations of Europe? It surely cannot be solved in the manner proposed by the Axis powers, that is, by the obliteration of the small European nations. The redistribution of populations in Europe or elsewhere will never solve the problem of world industrialization. The solution lies in grouping peoples in regional industrial units and integrating these regional industrial units in a world unit. The permanent solution of this European problem would seem, therefore, to require action on the regional level as well as action on the interregional or world level.

Action on the regional level should envisage the creation of three or four large industrial units. Let us suppose, for example, that the central area of Europe is one unit (Central Unit); that a second industrial unit includes Italy and the Balkan states (Balkan Unit); that a third unit includes the western countries of Europe (Western Unit). A fourth unit might be composed of the Scandinavian countries and Great Britain (Northern Unit). By the formation of these four industrial blocs the purchasing power of Europe as a whole would be enormously increased. And even if these four blocs should establish tariffs against other nations, the increased purchasing power and stability resulting from these industrial blocs would more than compensate for any tariffs imposed.

America and a World Policy

The establishment of a world authority which will regulate the industrial relations of peoples is the crying need of our twentieth century world. The failure to establish such a world authority has already resulted in two world wars in the last twenty-five years. Nations cannot be used to oppose the economic advancement of peoples without risking their utter destruction.

The most vital question confronting our people today is whether we are going to support another world settlement based on nationalism or whether we are going to insist on a new world settlement based on industrialism. Shall we use the moral force of America to perpetuate a world of peoples divided by nationalism or shall we use that force to create a new world of people united by industrialism? The lesson of the past forty years can be simply stated: To achieve world unity in the twentieth century all peoples must become industrially one people.

The Dumbarton Oaks peace plan proceeds on the assumption that the prewar world order of nationalism was a just world order and should be perpetuated by force if necessary. However, if the American people will ponder well recent history they will realize that the peoples of the world no longer regard prewar nationalism as a datum point for a just world order. In view of this widely held opinion, the preservation by force of a world order based on nationalism would not seem to offer a very solid foundation for permanent world peace.

The peoples of the world can have enduring peace in the twentieth century as one industrial organism but not as sixty-five separate and distinct organisms willing to combine their resources only for the purpose of suppressing aggression. An Industrial League of Free Peoples willing to combine the resources of the world in the best interests of all peoples would constitute a dynamic force continuously operating against war.

This is the seventh article in the series, 'Can Catholicism Win America?'

Catholicism Invades Rural America

By Harold E. Fey

THE PIONEERING of this continent was largely the work of Protestants. The countryside remains Protestant today, long after the frontier has vanished. But now the Roman Catholic Church has begun a long-term effort looking toward the conversion of rural America to its faith as a part of its program for the winning of America to Catholicism. Rural evangelization, says the Catholic historian, Theodore Maynard, is necessary "if America is to become a Catholic country—and nothing less is our apostolic mission."

It is not without significance that the principal Catholic rural life conference of 1943 brought together at Peoria, Illinois, over 5,000 people, while the comparable meeting of Protestant organizations engaged in rural work, strongly supported by the major interchurch agencies, assembled fewer than 500 people at Columbus, Ohio. It is true that the Catholic meeting included farmers and other grass roots people while the Protestant meeting was composed largely of leaders. However, there were a great many leaders at Peoria and grass rooters would have been welcome at Columbus. But a divided Protestantism had not succeeded in getting them there. Approximately the same proportion held true for the 1944 meetings at Cincinnati, Ohio, and Elgin, Illinois.

I

While Catholic writers cite with appropriate unction papal admonitions concerning the duty of the church to carry its apostolate to the people on the land, they back up their appeal to authority with arguments of a more earthy nature. Chief of these is the fact that "cities kill," as Monsignor L. G. Ligutti, director of the Catholic Rural Life Conference, often repeats. Most Catholics are found in cities. The Rev. Edgar Schmiedeler, head of the rural life bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, frequently reminds Catholics of facts first brought to light by O. E. Baker of the U. S. department of agriculture. As stated by the Catholic leader in his book, *A Better Rural Life*, they run like this: In our large cities, ten adults now have an average of seven children. These seven will have less than five and these five about three and one-half, so that "three generations (or a century) hence the population, if this trend continues, will have fallen to one-third its present level." On the other hand, ten adults in rural regions are having today about thirteen children. If that birth rate continues, these thirteen will have seventeen children and these seventeen will have about twenty-two. "A century hence the population will have doubled. . . . The government statisticians say that, under the assumption that the present birth rates in city and country remain unchanged, 1,000 rural people will have six times as many progeny a century hence as 1,000 city people."

The Roman Catholic Church has considerable reason to be worried about this outlook. It is interested in progeny. But three-fourths of its people are crowded into cities. When the tide of Catholic immigration to America was in full flood, Archbishop Hughes of New York and other Catholic leaders actively opposed all efforts at colonization of Irish immigrants on the land. They preferred to keep these Irish Catholics in the cities where the church could exercise its oversight easily and where they would incidentally provide the means of Catholic expansion in the growing cities. The effect of urban living on population growth was not then so clearly understood.

Many now agree with Theodore Maynard that this was an "almost irreparable mistake." They are sustained in their view by recent statistics of attendance at Catholic schools. Until about 1930 the number of children attending parochial schools showed a steady rise. But in the next two years parochial school attendance showed a decline of 1.3 per cent, in the next biennium a further drop of 1.5 per cent and in the next 2.6 per cent more. No wonder that James E. Cummings, assistant director of the educational department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, pointed out that this trend would in a few years cut enrollment in secondary schools and in a few more would be felt in the colleges, universities and seminaries of the Catholic educational system. After that, what of the church?

Many Catholics therefore find their views in accord with those of Father John LaFarge, editor of *America*, who said: "Without rural life, in a couple of generations we shall begin closing a fair-sized proportion of our city churches in the United States." This the Catholic hierarchy has no intention of doing if it can be avoided. So when Monsignor John A. Ryan, far-visioned head of the social action department of the N.C.W.C., in 1921 urged the establishment of a rural life bureau in this great organization, his advice was heeded and one of the most influential new developments in American Catholicism got under way.

II

The first national rural life conference was held in 1923, bringing together and uniting the scattered Catholic leaders all over America who had been working on some aspect of this huge problem. Within less than a decade a national system of diocesan rural life bureaus, each headed by a trained director whose main responsibility is the nurture of the rural churches and their membership, had been set up to blanket the nation. It is significant that, in addition to their duties toward rural parishes, one of the assignments of these directors is "to guide cooperative and social movements into proper Christian channels," to aid migrants to locate in Catholic communities and otherwise to serve the church.

The man who coordinates the multiplying rural life

activities of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States is Edgar Schmiedeler, O.S.B., Ph.D., a professor of sociology in the Catholic University of America and the author of many books and pamphlets on Catholic family and rural life. This spiritual heir of St. Benedict started out to help define the basis of a Christian sociology as seen by the Catholic Church. As a result of his intellectual pioneering, he has led in training the new leadership for the tremendous advance of which only beginnings have as yet been made. That he is sowing with the expectation that the church will reap a good harvest is shown from his statement that "perhaps [these beginnings] will eventually become so many tributaries, lending their individual power to help build one mighty stream of missionary endeavor that will sweep the entire countryside."

The point of view from which the hierarchy works is shown in the alteration which was made in the statement of purpose of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. At first it was designed ". . . to promote the spiritual, social and economic welfare of the rural population." Later this was changed. It is now organized ". . . to strengthen and develop Catholicity in the rural districts and to promote the welfare of the rural population."

The National Catholic Rural Life Conference, which cooperates with the rural life bureau of the N.C.W.C., is now headed by the able Monsignor L. G. Ligutti. With its headquarters in Des Moines, Iowa, its influence is felt widely throughout the nation and especially in the central states. Monsignor Ligutti, who is held in affection and regard by thousands of Protestants, won his spurs by helping a group consisting principally of Polish and Italian miners to resettle on farms at Grainger, Iowa, teaching them how to establish the economic and social institutions necessary to their communal life. (See The Christian Century for January 11, 1939.) He promoted the development of church-related credit unions and cooperatives, both of which are fostered directly through Catholic rural churches with the explicit approval of the hierarchy.

III

One of the effective devices used in the rich variety of pamphlet literature of the Catholic rural life movement is the detailed descriptions it contains of the life and organization of many of the parishes which are successfully meeting the challenge of survival and service in American farm and village communities. The conference publishes an attractive monthly magazine, *Land and Home,* and holds state as well as national meetings. It is intended to serve as the coordinating agency through which the 65 diocesan directors of rural life extend their efforts to the national scene.

Another part of the Catholic rural program is carried by the Catholic Central Verein of America, with headquarters in St. Louis. This organization was founded in the middle of the last century to conserve the interests and culture of the German Catholics, when they were under attack from hostile nativist interests. Since a considerable proportion of them settled on the land in the Mississippi valley, the Verein came in time to devote a major share of its well financed program to the problems of Catholic rural life. Today it boasts that it "was one of the first organizations in our country to point to the existence of the farm problem and to the need for study of farm conditions and legislation to improve the farmer's lot and to secure his economic status." It has local organizations in eighteen states, publishes a magazine called the *Social Justice Review,* maintains an excellent library, fosters youth organizations, maternity guilds, study clubs, cooperative marketing and buying and credit unions. First and last it presses upon its members their duty to support parochial schools and to send their children to them.

IV

Ably assisting the general organizations for the development of Catholic rural life is the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. Advocates of this flexible medium for religious instruction claim it was authorized by the Council of Trent (1545). It has been extensively developed in this country by the Catholic rural life movement since the First World War. Now Canon 711, paragraph 2, of the canon law of the church requires that the confraternity be established in *every* parish, urban as well as rural, in America. Its chief development here has been to provide vacation schools for Catholic teaching. The hierarchy for some years provided $5,000 a year to set up demonstration schools, which in turn trained a leadership. By 1936, some 6,000 Catholic vacation schools were teaching 300,000 children each summer. The confraternity, now separately organized with its own diocesan directors, still is a vital element in the educational side of Catholic expansion in rural areas. For example, at Houma, Louisiana, one vacation school, admittedly exceptional, had "233 pupils, only twenty of whom were Catholic and of the Catholics only one had made her first communion. . . . Naturally a certain number of conversions result."

To serve any who may still be beyond the reach of the church, the N.C.W.C. rural life bureau has developed religious correspondence courses for children in remote rural districts whose pastors cannot reach them regularly and for prospective converts who are under instruction. Once each week the nearest priest or his assistant mails to the pupils chapters in courses on the Apostles' Creed, the sacraments, prayer, the Ten Commandments or the first communion. The pupil mails in the answers to the attached questions, on which he receives a report when his replies are corrected. Thus the church, by the use of a teaching method developed for other purposes, attempts to retrieve some of the ground that it inevitably loses when Catholics take the advice which they are getting today and return to the land. It also provides a medium for follow-up of contacts made in other ways.

One of the reasons why the Catholic rural life program has been slow in getting under way is the scarcity of higher leadership. When the N.C.W.C. was set up there was hardly a Catholic sociologist in the country who had given any attention to rural life. Now a strong effort is being made to get Catholic universities to carry courses that will train this indispensable personnel. Although this effort is under temporary eclipse because of the war, it has

by no means been abandoned. Monsignor Ligutti is in constant demand as a speaker. Last summer he addressed over 5,000 nuns of teaching orders.

But all of these efforts, through which the church hopes to build in rural America stable communities giving their loyalty to itself, are now supplemented with an active policy of rural evangelism. This represents a change from the time when a minority church feared the always ignorant and often malicious attacks of the American Protective Association or the Ku Klux Klan, both drawing their chief strength from rural Protestants. Today the church is reminding itself of the centuries when Christianity began in the cities of the Roman empire and then missionized the *pagani* in the surrounding countryside. It usually took about a century to achieve their conversion after the near-by city had yielded. In America the *pagani* are largely Protestant, but that seems to make little difference. By the use of trailers and loudspeakers, auto and railway car chapels, itinerating preaching missions, by radio and mail, in the predominantly Protestant districts of the rural south, in the Appalachian mountains and throughout the great central plain, the Roman Church is evangelizing the *pagani* of this new continent.

V

The leaders of the Catholic back-to-the-land movement expect to reach the "other sheep"—Protestants and pagans—in various ways. The method about which Father Schmiedeler and others have grown enthusiastic is called "motor missions." The head of the N.C.W.C. rural life bureau says that they have "almost overnight given us an exceedingly useful means of reaching great numbers of unchurched people in rural parts—undoubtedly [this method] has tremendous possibilities. If a really considerable share of our vast urban resources were centered in this particular activity and it were undertaken in a truly militant missionary spirit, the results would in all likelihood be exceedingly surprising." Bishop Griffin of the Springfield, Illinois, diocese declared: "We have 75,000,000 pagans in these United States. We go down into the streets and out into the highways with the message of the gospel. If the enemies of Christ are found in the street mouthing their blasphemies against God, we too must dare go down to the street corners and preach the love and glory of God. Preaching in our churches will not convert America."

To "convert America" a motor mission organized in Missouri in a recent year went to seventy country towns. Equipped with cars which had a public address system, each mission stayed in a town a week, holding meetings every night. Handbills and posters announced the meetings in advance and a big sign was posted over the car when the service began. A question box was available and the discussion of questions by the two missioners was an important part of the program. They also used music and prayers and distributed some of the prolific pamphlet literature which Catholics are producing. Inquiries were followed up by mail, a part of the later services being taken up with promotion of this course of instruction on how to become a Catholic. "The only opposition observed arises from the revivals in the local churches, which suddenly come into being after the street preachers have announced their meetings." Similar motor missions, some of them equipped with elaborate trailer chapels and tents, have been held in many midwestern and southern dioceses. Usually less than 25 per cent of the people in the audiences are Catholic.

Another illustration of what happens occurred recently in a country town not far from Cincinnati. The priests who conducted the preaching mission not only preached at night but canvassed or "surveyed" the town and the region round about during the day. As a result of the mission a parish was organized and one of the missioners was assigned to it as priest. He soon had forty families and started a church. But he did not stop there. He bought 160 acres of land at the edge of the town. This was subdivided into plots ranging from one to four acres in size. These plots are now being sold to families who build houses on them and move in. Any family may buy a plot, provided it is a Catholic family. A community which yesterday was Protestant is today well on the road to Catholicism.

The Home Missioners of America, whose headquarters is in Cincinnati, are training a number of priests for work in the crusade to convert rural America. Their methods are taken from those of the foreign missionary at work in China or India. For use among Catholics, the Home Missioners issue a sinister-appearing map showing in black the counties in the United States which have no resident priests and in gray those in which priests reside only in the cities. The result is a picture of the United States whose grim pockmarks darken the landscape from Richmond to El Paso and from Miami almost to Seattle.

These great expanses of the country which "are practically untouched by Catholicism" are now to be the object of a sustained effort which writes off as bankrupt the spiritual heritage of the people. Nobody who knows how much of the time and energy of Protestant home missions programs are still wasted in competition with other Protestant churches can laugh at this program or dismiss easily the characterization of Protestant home missions by Father Schmiedeler. "Their principle," he says, "is essentially a disintegrating one. This principle, individualism in faith and morals, has been working itself out in recent years with ever increasing rapidity. The results are only what might be expected."

VI

Protestants have much to learn from the Catholic Church in their approach to rural life. The Catholic Church builds its program around the family, while Protestant emphasis in rural churches is still on the individual. Catholicism seeks to establish and to perpetuate communities on the land, while Protestantism as such has no philosophy of community and all its efforts to conserve its rural church membership only contribute to the drift toward the cities. Catholicism sees as organic the relation between the church and the cooperative movement and other economic and social aids to farm life, whereas Protestantism habitually regards it as either irrelevant or incidental. The Catholic Church has the capacity to plan for generations and even for centuries and to coordinate all its energies to make its plans actually affect the shape

of things to come. Protestant churches attack such planning as an interference with sectarian prerogative.

The Catholic rural life movement is as yet only in its beginnings. But it is conceived on the broadest possible scale for the conversion to Catholicism of rural America, not this year or even this decade, but certainly within this century.

The next, and concluding, article in this series will deal with "The Center of Catholic Power."

Franz Werfel and the Modern Temper

By Harold von Hofe

WHEN Austria was joined to Germany in March 1938, Franz Werfel augmented the distinguished group of anti-nazi writers representing German literature in exile. Only forty-seven at that time, still a comparatively young man, he had already been acclaimed as a poet who would be outlived by his poems. Although his verse was comparatively unknown in America, a number of novels, excellently translated into English, had established his reputation in this country. Of late we have associated his name with religious subjects. *Embezzled Heaven* was a book-of-the-month in 1940, *The Song of Bernadette* in 1942.

The recent popularity of religious novels, by Werfel and many others, reflects a crystallization of popular interest that had a counterpart in the First World War. In both instances questioning of basic values, confusion of aims and personal tragedies induced large segments of the reading public to seek respite and serenity in literature dealing with historical figures or movements identified with traditional religion and inspired by singleness of faith. Many writers, to be sure, possessing greater business acumen and opportunism than intellectual integrity, capitalized on public interest—and on public anguish—by turning out facile books that brought handsome financial returns. There were others, however, whose writings revealed honest and sincere religiousness.

Werfel's two novels mentioned above have been among the most widely read religious books of the past several years. Moreover, his recently published volume of religious essays, *Between Heaven and Earth,* establishes him as one of the outstanding representatives of those calling for a revitalization of Christian ideals. Hence Americans are asking: Who is Franz Werfel, what are his origins, why did he come to America, and what is his view of the future?

Werfel's Background

Born in 1890 of a well-to-do middle class family in Prague, Franz Werfel grew up in the atmosphere of intellectual skepticism and agnosticism which was the vogue in liberal bourgeois circles of that period. As a high school student he published in a Viennese magazine his first poems, soon followed, after his matriculation at the University of Prague, by many others. Werfel's early verses indicated unmistakably that he was not a sophisticated freethinker as his schoolmates boasted of being. Critics heralded the appearance of a new poet of genuine promise.

A few months' employment in 1911 as a bookkeeper in Hamburg convinced him that the business world was utterly distasteful. The publication of his first volume of poetry in the same year settled the matter. He was to be a writer. The verses in *Der Weltfreund*—a title difficult to translate—were singularly mature for a boy of twenty-one. They disclosed the poet's secret facets. One was an all-embracing love of humanity, rooted in Christian charity, transcending skin pigmentation, social station and national boundaries. The second was a vigorous anti-war attitude. Anti-militarism served as the kernel of a sketch, "The Lancer," written two years later. Both attitudes were to stand in the foreground of Werfel's work throughout his life.

In Government Service

In 1917 the official Austrian propaganda agency, the Kriegspresseamt, made a serious error in selecting Franz Werfel as a member of its personnel. The propaganda office felt that a person so adept in the use of words was a valuable addition to its staff. The officers in charge knew that he was a writer but they had evidently not read his works. The fact that he had served on the Russian front with a field howitzer regiment, not with distinction to be sure but well enough to earn an honorable discharge, was deemed sufficient guarantee of his views. They did not suspect that he had joined an anti-militaristic organization two years previously.

Very soon, however, the authorities were to learn what Werfel's views were. In 1918, while on a lecture tour through Switzerland, Werfel took an unequivocal stand against militarism and against the central powers. He was summoned before a military court and his books were confiscated. The collapse of Germany and Austria in the fall of 1918 interrupted the proceedings and in the turmoil that followed the author was able to return to civilian life, making his home in Vienna.

In the ensuing years an increasing number of poems, dramas, short stories and novels issued from his pen. Not a methodical writer but a tremendously facile one, Werfel wrote many of his works between midnight and dawn. His energy was abundant and his zest for living keen.

Werfel's reputation as one of the outstanding writers of our time grew from year to year. Large editions in German and in translations testified to his popularity. Arthur Specht, a noted critic, referred to him as one of the few modern writers who revealed true genius. Another critic spoke of him as a poet who, of all his genera-

tion, appeared to have the surest chance of reaching that remembrance which the optimistic term immortality.

To be acclaimed as a creative writer of the first rank was not sufficient for Werfel, however. The spiritual impoverishment of the masses, the multitude of ideologies bidding for allegiance, the restless stirring foreboding another war, in short the entire odious spectacle of modern European history impelled him to search for explanations and to seek a way out of the morass. As early as 1917 he had written of *The Mission of Christ.* He pursued the subject further. When had humanity lost awareness of the mission of Christ and what had been the consequence of that loss?

New Forces

Widespread rejection of Christianity or indifference to it was a comparatively modern phenomenon. Prior to the nineteenth century—from Giordano Bruno to Voltaire—revolt against Christian faith had been confined to a small stratum of the intelligentsia. For the masses personal and religious codes of value had remained constant and absolute. Answers to the eternal wherefroms and whereto's had been endowed with absolute validity and accepted from infancy. It was only later that three forces unwittingly joined hands to wean Western man from Christianity and hasten the arrival of the problematic age. The first was the philosopher Immanuel Kant, who demonstrated that the human mind was equipped to know and to understand only a fractional portion of the universe and that absolute knowledge was denied to it forever. The second was compulsory education, an innovation of the nineteenth century which furnished the masses of people tools wherewith to unlock the Pandora's box of doubt. And the third was growth of the publishing business, which assiduously refilled the box.

Meanwhile blow fell upon blow. Copernicus had taught that the earth was not the center of the universe. Darwin and Haeckel demonstrated that man was not the center of the earth. And Freud pointed out that we didn't know what we were doing or why we were doing it most of the time. Is it any wonder that minds either despaired or sought new values in a multitude of ways?

The Modern Dilemma

Most human beings are not capable of attaining to an arbitrary set of values through personal struggle and suffering. They require something greater than they with which to identify themselves. Patriotism and nationalism —in their modern form developments of the last hundred and fifty years—supplied one way out. To work and live for one's country—that was it! *Deutschland über alles! Vive la France!* However, just as the Christian faith had fostered rebels at its bosom, so the nationalistic faith begot objectors who proclaimed that nationalism was a cheap thing and that the only respectable faith was a political one divorced from country. The best case in point is communism which indeed became a political religion inspiring a fervor and readiness for sacrifice comparable to that engendered by Christianity in the early centuries of its history. National Socialism cleverly fused the political and the national appeal in its very name.

The struggle of rival ideologies was particularly intense in Franz Werfel's Austria, that truncated little nation in the heart of Europe. Dozens of parties frantically expounded divergent panaceas. But the core, the common denominator in all formulas, was materialistic and political. Increase of national power and extension of material benefits were the pivots about which projected programs of action revolved. And how did the masses spend their leisure when not engaged in political disputes? The search for entertainment, for amusement to "pass the time" assumed frantic proportions. Preoccupation with the political and the materialistic, pursuit of cheap diversions and emptiness of soul seemed to constitute the unholy trinity of modern life. "Naturalistic nihilism" was Werfel's term for it.

He was ready to admit that the last two centuries of European history had witnessed tremendous material progress but he added the significant judgment that an abysmal moral decline, occasioned by the growth of religious disbelief, had accompanied material expansion. Physical and materialistic ideals rising out of the bogs and morasses of a spiritual Paradise Lost were deified. Particularly was this true in the large urban areas where, Werfel felt, factories, offices, movies and cafés stifled man's awareness of his divine origin and his potentialities as a cosmic being. Rejecting the parliamentary geography of right and left on the grounds that the path to the left as well as that to the right, was ultimately blocked, Werfel could discover only one road leading to the deliverance of man—the path upward, to God.

Moral Decline

The Austrian writer realized well enough that he was out of step with the spirit of the time. He was ridiculed mercilessly by liberal and rational thinkers who snickered at his "flirtation with Christ." Even more stridently antagonistic voices emanated from groups in Germany with a strong National Socialist orientation. In the face of hostility and ridicule from diverse sources he formulated his conclusion that this world which calls itself civilized can be healed spiritually only by finding its way back to genuine Christianity. In a speech entitled "Can We Live without Faith in God?" he presented his convictions in plain and uncompromising terms.

The talk was first given in Vienna in 1931. In 1932 Werfel embarked on an extended lecture tour through Germany, which already stood on the brink of a National Socialistic regime. He spoke in all parts of the country. Overcrowded halls marked his appearance everywhere. He sensed a spiritual hunger in his audiences. But there were dissident voices also and they grew stronger as he neared the end of his journey. He was scheduled to deliver his speech before a students' club in the East Prussian city of Insterburg. The air was tense when he arrived in midafternoon, for nazis had attempted to have the speech canceled. Uncertainty prevailed until the final moment when he took his place on the speaker's platform. The audience was ominously quiet when he began. In a few minutes the first catcalls were heard. They grew in volume until his voice was drowned out. His assertion that humanity could not live without Christianity and

faith in God was characterized as a Jewish-communistic trick. Under police protection and to the accompaniment of derisive shouts he left the hall. He returned to Vienna shortly thereafter.

Exile

Hitler's assumption of power in 1933 did not occasion Werfel's exile, as was the case with Thomas Mann and so many others, for his home was Austria. There he enjoyed the friendship of leading figures in political life, among them the late Chancellor Dollfuss. The beginning of his exile was postponed five years.

February 1938 found him on the isle of Capri. Since sources of information open to Mrs. Werfel warned of imminent danger, she returned to Vienna to prepare for eventualities. The crisis came sooner than anticipated and on March 13, 1938, Mrs. Werfel left Austria. Meanwhile Franz Werfel had left Capri. Mrs. Werfel was able to rejoin him, after a period of intense anxiety, in Milan. Because of travel restrictions and close watch of border traffic she had been compelled to make a detour via Prague, Budapest and Trieste.

The next few months were spent in travel: a month in Switzerland, two weeks in Paris, several weeks in Amsterdam, and a short stay in London. Stories of the Werfels' experiences and of their homelessness were met with incredulity. Ultimately they made France their temporary home, shuttling between Paris and Sanary, a small fishing village on the Mediterranean.

The outbreak of the war in 1939 brought new difficulties, for persons of German or Austrian origin, regardless of background, were suspect to the French. Domiciliary visits by the police were frequent. On one occasion Werfel, accused of communism, was undressed and searched on the street. From the first day of the war the Werfels attempted in vain to secure permission to leave France. America was to be their haven of refuge, they decided. But hope after hope was disappointed, and dread and presentiment reached a climax in June 1940. Many were the nights the Werfels spent in the open while German troops roamed the country. Capture would have meant death. Food and shelter were difficult to obtain.

Werfel at Lourdes

In the little town of Pau they heard that lodgings might be secured in Lourdes. Thither they went to hide for several weeks. Learning the facts of the strange life of Bernadette Soubirous, the writer vowed that he would sing her song when and if he reached America. On September 13 Mr. and Mrs. Werfel finally succeeded in crossing the French-Spanish border between Cerbère and Portbou, near the edge of the Mediterranean. French gendarmes had considerately turned their backs as the couple proceeded on foot across the Pyrenees in the dark of night. Well treated in Spain, they journeyed to Barcelona and Madrid, and subsequently Portugal. A month's wait in Lisbon marked the last stage of their escape. In October they secured passage to New York on the Nea Hellas, last Greek ship to leave for America.

The naked unfolding of power politics in the 1930's caused Franz Werfel to underscore once more his unswerving belief in Christian virtues. Writing of *The Purest Felicity of Mankind*—published in Sweden after Vienna had been occupied by Hitler—he characterized the modern age as a Promethean one of melancholy and despair. Humanity, he wrote, will not accept the fact that certain creative powers within it have suffered bankruptcy. We have become efficient, frighteningly so at times, and we have gained in athletic prowess, but what spiritual losses we have suffered! Yet we believe ourselves to be in possession of a promissory note of future happiness to be redeemed after twentieth century pseudo-religions, political and materialistic, have created material abundance for all.

Werfel equated irreligious skepticism with the modern faith in the future, in progress, whether it is motivated by national or international, biologic or economic considerations. Progress without the Christian ingredients of love and charity has, in his opinion, proved itself the breeding ground of strife and misery and will bring ultimate annihilation.

Werfel's Christianity

A Christian spiritual reawakening and rejuvenation is Franz Werfel's watchword. He has never made use of the dogmatic structure of the Christian church, nor has he become a formal member of it, but he feels deeply that a revitalization of Christian ideals alone can abrogate the lust for power, the wish to rule over others and to mirror oneself in their abasement, posing as great before them. Werfel is perfectly right when he points out that such traits are not inborn, for the child in its earliest years lives in peaceful relations with the world about it. The soul of the child suffers irreparable harm and exhibits that morbid fever which is the will to power, ambition, the thirst for triumph and hatred of one's fellow men only after it has learned oppression and egoistic obstinacy from its elders.

Let us provide for the child a Christian environment in which pristine spiritual powers, narcotized by modern civilization, can be reawakened, Werfel demands. And let us not limit that environment to the family, the province or the nation. Not only freedom and a decent mode of life are at stake in this war, he wrote in 1942, but the desecrated cross without which humanity will be engulfed in everlasting night.

The views thus summarized form the very core of Werfel's work. His writings can be understood only in the light of these ideas, which have been sharpened and strengthened since the beginning of his exile.

In his first novel, *Not the Murderer,* written in 1919, the hero makes a prophetic statement. He has struck a new bargain, he says: he is thinking of buying a small farm out west in America. Franz Werfel has not quite become "a farmer out west" but he does live in Los Angeles, in a comfortable home with a picturesque garden. He continues to expound his faith in Christianity with vigor and eloquence. One may quarrel with the validity of Werfel's ideas but it must be conceded that he has repaid the America which gave him hospitality when his very life hung in the balance.

BOOKS

Art and Religion

THE ENJOYMENT OF THE ARTS. *Edited by Max Schoen. Philosophical Library, $5.00.*

THE ARTS AND RELIGION. *Edited by Albert E. Bailey. The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

ONE valid and invaluable idea runs through both of these books—that the arts are not merely pleasant superfluities and decorative though unimportant accessories of living, but that they have to do with the basic stuff out of which any adequate human life is made. True, the first title speaks of the "enjoyment" of the arts, and they cannot worthily serve their purpose unless they are enjoyed. The arts are like love; they should be enjoyed, but with the enjoyment there come other values not alien to that concept but enriching its meaning and going far beyond it. In both books distinguished critics, themselves artists in one field or another, have contributed in the areas of their special competence. The first is a general discussion of nine arts and a guide to the appreciation of them. The second considers five arts as expressions of religion.

The Max Schoen volume opens with a chapter by him on "the realm of art." This compact analysis of esthetic theory is worth careful study. Many of its dicta call for more development than was possible in the space. "The substance of art is feeling for form." This is sound doctrine; it says that esthetic appreciation of an object, either real or represented, means a response to its form rather than admiration of it as an object. In a later chapter Mr. Joseph Bailey Ellis adds that in sculpture "one must first acquire this feeling for *pure form*." This also is indisputable. But, as every artist and student knows, "form" is one of the slipperiest words in the vocabulary of art. The creation of form is the object of design and, as Mr. Ellis says elsewhere in the same chapter, "design is the *ne plus ultra* yardstick of measurement for sculpture and all other art manifestations." And what is design? It is "planned arrangement of spot and space to make a satisfying whole." One might go more into detail and say that it is planned arrangement of lines and surfaces, of voids and solids, of lights and shadows and colors, of actions and words, of tensions and relaxations, of sounds, accents and rhythms—some or all of these, depending upon the medium of expression.

While these instructions may tell the seeker where to look for the qualities that make artistic excellence, they aid him very little in recognizing it when he finds it, because that elusive "pure form" still evades definition except as one reverts to the purely subjective criterion that it must be "satisfying."

The successive chapters are on painting, sculpture, architecture, industrial design, poetry, drama, the novel, the movies, and music, with a concluding chapter on art criticism. The chapter on painting, on the whole well balanced, gives a generous but weak defense of "modern" non-representative painting—weak because it still leaves one in the dark as to how to evaluate the "pure form" which it is supposed to embody. Mr. Ellis, on sculpture, gives perhaps the most thorough coverage of his theme. The chapter on music is too elementary to be of much use to one who knows anything at all about music. One of the best chapters is that on the novel, by Van Meter Ames. Almost alone among the contributors, or with only the company of the editor in his initial chapter, Dr. Ames has shown an example of artistry with words which is in itself illustrative of the book's theme.

Dr. Bailey is widely known as an authority on religious art. The scheme of his present book is simple. He opens it with a 30-page introduction on "the antiquity and universality of the arts." This is followed by his own still longer chapter on "the expression of religion in painting and sculpture." Together these go far toward furnishing the minimum essentials of an outline history of art, at least from the standpoint of a special interest in religion. These are really grand chapters. Next comes "the expression of religion in architecture," by Dr. K. J. Conant, professor of architecture at Harvard. Dr. Conant does a superbly scholarly piece of work in the area he selected for treatment, which is narrower than the title, for his interest is so centered on Gothic that he treats earlier building largely as preparatory to the "Gothic miracle" and brings his contribution to a close with the Gothic climax of the thirteenth century.

When H. Augustine Smith writes of "the expression of religion through music," it would be superfluous to observe that the subject is in competent hands. He could scarcely have put more into his chapter, covering the fundamentals of musical structure from the "modal" music of antiquity to modern forms, the historic styles and schools of church music, the place and use of music in modern church services, and an enlightened discussion of some of the topics with which special students of worship are concerned. Dr. Fred Eastman contributes the closing chapter on "the dramatist and the minister." As a professor of religious drama, he has long studied the employment of dramatic form as a vehicle for conveying moral and religious truth and for eliciting emotional and volitional response to ideas dramatically presented. His chapter includes an exposition of the nature of drama and its essential elements, and a statement, with illustrations, of his own carefully studied conclusions with respect to the use of drama for religious purposes in our own time.

These two books go well together. For those who must choose between them, Schoen's will be found by far the more comprehensive in the range of arts considered and more fundamental in its treatment of the arts as such; Bailey's will be much more immediately applicable to the specific problem of enriching the expressions of religion through the use of the arts, but while doing that it also constitutes a good general introductory course in the history and appreciation of art.

W. E. GARRISON.

Ecce Homo

BEHOLD THE MAN, AN ANTHOLOGY OF JESUS CHRIST. *Edited by Ralph L. Woods. The Macmillan Company, $3.00.*

MORE than four hundred authors are drawn upon for these evaluations and interpretations of Jesus Christ. They are novelists, poets, theologians, statesmen, historians, scientists. They are ancient, medieval and modern, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and agnostic. Here are Chesterton and Voltaire, Renan and Phillips Brooks, Spengler and Sperry, Augustine and Karl Barth, Shailer Mathews and Fulton Sheen. The extracts which make up this 565-page anthology are arranged (alphabetically by author) in eight sections, treating of Jesus Christ as man, God, teacher, redeemer,

leader, messiah, reformer and prophet. Sectarian propaganda is excluded. Specific theological argument is reduced to a minimum and, though obviously it could not be wholly kept out, there is a balance of diverse views. Chalcedonian orthodoxy speaks with many voices, but the deists and Unitarians also get a hearing and one author affirms what he himself says could be called "neomonophysite heresy." The resultant impression, however, is not that of a variety of discordant opinions but of a marvelous harmony in the affirmations of faith. Evaluation is more prominent than definition. The classification of the extracts, as indicated, cannot give more than an appearance of some slight structure in the arrangement. But any attempt to force the materials into a more formal system would have done violence to the authors and diminished the value of the book. It is, as its compiler calls it, an anthology, and one rich in materials which it is well to have at hand for reference.

Lincoln's Teacher

MENTOR GRAHAM. *By Kunigunde Duncan and D. F. Nichols. University of Chicago Press, $3.75.*

WHEN it is realized that the entire surviving material on Graham consists of only twenty pieces—letters and minor documents—and that he lived out his career as a simple teacher in one-room country schools in Illinois, this biography of "the man who taught Lincoln" deserves acclaim as one of the most remarkable examples of literary detective work in recent years, if nothing else. It is much else. For along with their picture of Graham's life, and of the enormously important contribution which he made to the formation of the mind of the gangling young Kentuckian who settled in New Salem, Illinois, the authors have given one of the best pictures ever drawn of the schoolmaster as he was in pioneer days, of his place in the community, and of the part which he played in making the community a center of law and culture. There is no reason to question the details which the authors, in the light of their exhaustive inquiries, introduce into this account of Graham's long career. It is unfortunate, however, that errors have been allowed to slip into their references to political events of that time which the reader who knows nothing about the details of Graham's life can check, for this tends to throw doubt on the book as a whole. Thus, on page 195, they speak of Lincoln being "nominated for vice-president," and say that "after the election, which he lost," he went back to practicing law. Unless the statement is meant in an unusual fashion it is, of course, incorrect. The statement on page 203 that "Fort Sumpter [*sic!*] fell in July" is certainly wrong. And the statement on page 210 that "Dr. Sturtevant, of Petersburg, . . . had been made ambassador to England [by Lincoln], replacing Beecher," is baffling if the word "ambassador" means ambassador. Dr. Julian M. Sturtevant, one of the early faculty of Illinois College, Jacksonville, did indeed carry letters of personal recommendation from Lincoln while traveling in England during the Civil War. So did Henry Ward Beecher. Neither was ever ambassador. One would expect the editors of a university press to guard against slips of this sort.

Books Received

The Nature and Origins of Scientism. By John Wellmuth, S. J. Marquette University Press, $1.50. In this Aquinas lecture for 1944, before the Aristotelian Society of Marquette University, the chairman of the department of philosophy at Loyola University defines scientism as "the belief that science, in the modern sense of that term, and the scientific method as described by modern scientists, afford the only reliable natural means of acquiring such knowledge as may be available about whatever is real." The origin of this belief, and of scientific method with its emphasis upon probability, is traced to the fourteenth century. The word "natural" in the definition puts out of bounds the argument concerning reason and revelation and limits the theme to the relation between science and philosophy. This topic is discussed from the standpoint of a Thomist with acumen and with results which warrant the ecclesiastical *Nihil obstat* and *Imprimatur* which the volume bears.

Chang Hsi and the Treaty of Nanking, 1842. By Ssu-yü Teng. University of Chicago Press, $4.00. (To be reviewed.)

Under Orders, The Autobiography of William Laurence Sullivan. Richard Smith, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

Tarbell's Teachers' Guide to the International Sunday-school Lessons for 1945. By Martha Tarbell. Revell, $2.25. The fortieth volume of this well known series. Following the full text and an outline of each lesson and sometimes a commentary upon the verses, the most substantial portion of the treatment is the discussion of several topics suitable for use in preparing to teach various age groups.

According to Paul. By Harris Franklin Rall. Scribners, $2.75. (To be reviewed.)

The American Jewish Year Book 5705. Edited for the American Jewish Committee by Harry Schneiderman. Jewish Publication Society of America, $3.00. A detailed survey of Jewish activities and of conditions especially affecting Jews throughout the world during the past year (5704), a list of 2,800 Jewish servicemen who have been decorated for bravery in action within the twelve months ending June 30, 1944, an American-Jewish bibliography, a directory of national Jewish organizations in the United States, statistics, and reports of the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Publication Society.

CORRESPONDENCE

Another Universalist Document

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your editorial, "A Regrettable Action," on the refusal of the Federal Council of Churches to receive the Universalist Church into membership was charitable or diplomatic to the point of ambiguity. The issue was not nearly as confused as you make it out to be.

You assume that a Universalist secretary made an unfortunate misstatement when he allowed himself to write for a yearbook that "Universalists, as a body, are now practically Unitarians so far as the person, nature and work of Christ are concerned." I could supply you with a number of documents put out by the Universalist Church in recent years which show the position on those matters that gave concern to the delegates at Pittsburgh. But one will suffice. Here are some quotations from a recent tract, entitled *Universalism Today,* written by Dr. Robert Cummins, general superintendent of the Universalist Church of America, published and distributed by the Commission on Literature of the Universalist Church of America:

"Frankly, we *are* different. Let no one be persuaded to think otherwise. . . . We are standing . . . for a point of view so radically at variance with most of the existing faiths [that means the churches that make up the Federal Council] as to make ours another religion. The conception we have of the church itself, therefore, is fundamentally unlike that held by most of the established institutions of religion.

"Orthodoxy . . . conceives of religion as being a body of truth to be believed. . . . [For the orthodox] religion is inevitably associated with a body of truth.

"The second major proposition of orthodoxy is that the acceptance of this body of truth is essential to salvation. In other words, faith is belief in that truth which saves—and to be outside

belief in such truth is to be in a hazardous state. The elect are on the inside, that is, on the inside of the right church. The church is distinct from the world. It is a separate society whose primary functions are to provide fellowship for believers and to win more and more of them. . . . Underlying the orthodox conception is the conviction that religion is something one obtains from outside oneself. . . . It is a relationship one enters into through faith—an act of volition; or, it is an experience which enters him. In any event, we can become truly religious only through faith.

"Here, so it seems to me, is the Universalists' real point of departure. . . . There is no distinction among us between believers and unbelievers, redeemed and lost. Among us, that sort of thing is not an act of faith, or some particular relationship into which one enters of his own volition. We build on the assumption that man is religious, much in the same sense that he is gregarious. . . . And the social sciences seem to substantiate our assumption. . . .

"For us, then, religion need not be associated with a set of prescribed beliefs, although it may result in beliefs. . . . All we insist upon is that our beliefs do not result from revelation; nor are they essential either to our personal salvation or to the life of the church. . . ."

In view of these attitudes toward the major premises of the Christian religion one may well wonder why the Universalists applied for membership in the Federal Council. But there should not be much mystery as to why a majority of the delegates to the Federal Council thought it wise to turn down the application.

Mount Vernon Heights Congregational Church, Mount Vernon, N. Y. — Hugh S. Tigner.

From a Latin Watchdog

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: Quintus Quiz says: "I shall rudely interrupt the speaker and beg him to bring his copy of Lincoln's Gettysburg speech and underline in it all the words of Latin origin, and he will have the surprise of his life. . . . If Cicero and St. Augustine had been present, they would scarcely have missed its meaning." With equal rudeness I beg you to do just as he says—look through the Gettysburg speech for words of Latin origin, to see how wrong Quintus Quiz is. If you find that it bears him out, call me by some Latin name.

Fiction about the birth of Christ might have more historic coloring. (See "The Centurion" in the issue of December 13.) "Marcus Quintus" is a name that a Roman could not bear. In King Herod's time there could not be a procurator in Palestine nor Roman soldiery in Bethlehem.

Ballard Vale, Mass. — Steven T. Byington.

Cooperation Enough Already

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: In The Christian Century for December 13, your Chicago correspondent reported that Pearl Buck had made the following statement: "The great opportunity for Christian missions, therefore, is to send missionaries who can cooperate with Chinese leaders. This means the sending of a new type of missionary."

I confess to being somewhat at a loss to understand just what the meaning of this statement is. As one reads the history of missionary work in China during the last generation, there would seem to be much evidence of very cordial cooperation with Chinese leaders. This is true whether it has to do with national leaders or with Chinese leaders in Christian work. The only possible type of leader that Pearl Buck might have in mind would be the leaders of the old religions in China. Naturally, it is impossible to have very much cooperation with them because of the complete difference of program followed by the old religions and by the live and helpful leaders in the missionary movement.

The statement as made by Pearl Buck easily creates misunderstanding on the part of those who do not know intimately missionary programs in China today. Those who know the situation know that there is fine cooperation between Christians from the West and Christians in China whether they are leaders or ordinary people.

Iola, Kan. — Perry O. Hanson.

'Typical Chiang Camouflage'

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: Your attitude on the China position is about as far from the facts as it is possible to get. The alleged "shake-up" in the Chungking cabinet is, as Agnes Smedley accurately shows, nothing but a piece of typical Chiang camouflage, effecting nothing whatever. And Bishop Lacy—whom, incidentally, I know, and respect for his work in China—takes the usual missionary ground. But in his list of the things in which, in his view, foreign correspondents in China have misled people in this country, he actually outlines just exactly what is wrong and just exactly what is happening and has happened.

Providence Journal, Providence, R. I. — Marc T. Greene.

[We are not able, with war conditions making personal investigation impossible, to settle the issue of veracity raised with Bishop Lacy by this distinguished foreign correspondent. It should be remarked, however, that the authority to whom he appeals, Miss Smedley, has long been noted for her support of the Chinese communists.—The Editors.]

Supporting Chaplain Lowell

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: In your August 30 issue Chaplain (Capt.) Vernon M. Burkhart accused Chaplain C. Stanley Lowell of making a false statement when Lowell said, "Chaplains who feel that they cannot administer communion to all Christians are properly dropped from the chaplaincy during the training period." I have found such a statement to be true. In my class of sixty-five chaplains at William and Mary College, one chaplain was asked to resign and two other chaplains were held up in their graduation because of their attitudes toward communion. All these chaplains were Lutherans. Three Baptist chaplains were dropped because of their attitudes on baptism.

USS Hector, care FPO, San Francisco, Calif. — Chaplain Robert "Q" Jones, Lieutenant, USNR.

Footnote from Detroit

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: Events in Detroit throw light on "Bourgeois Protestantism" as discussed in your editorial of December 13, and on the letter of Prof. John C. Bennett, seeking to analyze the vote of November 7.

In a recent meeting of our new church-and-labor fellowship a broad attack on all churches, Protestant and Catholic, was made by John Anderson, C.I.O., and Anthony Tashnick, A.F. of L., who charged that no religious organization did anything important for "the workers" until the unions were organized to "break the chains" binding the common people. "Lip service religion" was assessed against the Detroit council of churches by name, and also against Father Coughlin, for neglecting opportunities to serve industrial workers.

But a prompt retort came from the *Wage Earner*, Detroit organ of the Association of Catholic Trades Unionists, in which the editor characterized Anderson as "a local Communist" and said: "If the workers had to 'organize themselves to break their chains' that is exactly as it should be. If any religious organization attempted to organize a labor union, Mr. John Anderson would be the first to complain that the opium of faith was being forced down the throats of the people."

The council of churches (Protestant) was chided for cooperating with the Detroit Citizens League, which for thirty years has issued non-partisan reports on candidates and questions before elections, and whose membership is open to all citizens, regardless of party, creed or race. Organized labor on November 7

opposed a constitutional amendment on county government which the league had backed in the interest of better law enforcement and "more democracy." It also developed that in drafting and promoting the measure, two union labor leaders were elected to the citizens' committee of seventeen members, but after two meetings, in which their ideas were not approved by the rest of the committee, they withdrew.

Another circumstance has been the refusal of Tracy M. Doll, a C.I.O. spokesman and official, to serve as a juror in the Wayne circuit court, on the ground that he was "not qualified." When pressed by the jury commission, of which Dr. Joseph A. Vance, former moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly, was chairman, Doll answered, "When any member of the C.I.O. is in court under charges, I would always work and vote for his acquittal, regardless of the evidence, for that is my platform."

Now that the C.I.O. has a few members of the union who were elected to the state legislature from Detroit, the question is whether these legislators will speak and vote only as ordered by the C.I.O. leaders.

Thus we observe that the issue with Protestants trying to serve the needs of "the workers" may be the basic principle of a free choice by individuals, both in the field of religion and in that of government, if not also in that of industry and the economic order. If the social objectives of organized labor are to be won solely by the kind of warfare which totally submerges individual thought, choice and action beneath the mandate of the union or party, then is there not a violation of that individual freedom which is historic and fundamental with all Protestants? This seems to be the approach even of the Roman Catholic labor organ, with reference at least to the problem of the church and labor unions.

Detroit Citizens League, W. P. Lovett.
Detroit, Mich.

Simple Faith the Only Need

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: Not in many a day has your paper published such a pregnant and alarming sentence as that of Joseph T. Riley, Protestant chaplain, in your issue of December 20: "Men of the army are frankly critical of the sincerity of conviction and vitality of the Protestant faith."

It is high time, indeed, that we streamline our faith and get rid of the picayune and almost silly differences in creed that separate us Protestants. Many of us laymen, thoroughly disgusted with these differences and with the narrowness that makes them possible, have reached a point in our religious thinking where only two essentials are left: God as the loving Father of us all, and Christ as the way to God. Everything else we insist upon pushing far into the background, and our emphasis is on Jesus' type of life unselfishly lived and directed by God.

Washington, D. C. Wilbur La Roe, Jr.

'Freedom of the Public'

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: Much is being written and spoken concerning "freedom of the press" and the need of some guarantee of the unhindered right to print anything that a newspaper desires to print as news. It is about time that something should be said about "freedom of the public" and protection from the cheap, salacious sort of news publication which many are convinced constitutes one of the largest factors in the moral breakdown in American social and home life.

Recently a newspaper which provides daily mental diet for hundreds of thousands of midwesterners spread two large pictures and a two-column story on the front page of the disgusting, if tragic, death by suicide of a motion picture actress, carrying an unnamed baby with her to the grave. Why this revolting incident, on a level one step lower than common prostitution, should receive consideration from a serious news editor, and deserve headlines, sordid details, pictures of the illegitimate father and even the poor creature's dogs, is a problem that should sober the parenthood of America. Does freedom of the press, a public agent that youth must depend upon to learn news, mean the right to spread filth without responsibility and with impunity? Then who is to save our formative public opinion from the press?

In a world shattering period of a quarter of a century the press has successively written sordid chapters ridiculing prohibition, castigating those who believe in peace, and offering publicity for sex triangles, drunken murders and rampant gambling in a way that calls for an examination of the place of the newspaper in a free world.

First Methodist Church, Hugh B. Fouke.
Emporia, Kan.

Belgium Is Different

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: I am surprised to see that you have joined with a flock of ill-informed columnists and radio commentators to class the Belgian government with reactionary regimes sustained by British arms and scarcely different from British-backed elements in Greece and Italy. You say, in your issue of December 13: "Essentially, the situation in Greece and Belgium does not differ much." I assure you that the two situations differ markedly, and I have lived in Belgium for extended periods, was there from July 1939 to March 1940, and have made it a point to use excellent contacts since then to keep abreast of internal conditions—by no means contacts with rightist sources.

In Greece, British connivance in prewar days held in power King George, who paved the way for the dictator Metaxas; and the same forces are those favored by British policy now. Prewar Belgium was one of the freest nations of the globe, and from the beginning of the war to the nazi invasion of May 1940, largely under the present leadership maintained a remarkable degree of democracy, free speech and social advancement. When invasion came, the Belgian parliament by unanimous vote, including all the opposition groups, authorized the cabinet under Pierlot to remain in power, in or out of the country, until peace should come.

When Pierlot, who is a liberal conservative, returned to Belgium, his cabinet was a mixture of Catholics, Socialists and Liberals. It had already adopted a program of collaboration with France and Holland for postwar reconstruction, a program so radical in its economic aspects it would make most United States liberals look like mossbacks. Expressing willingness to resign at any moment, the cabinet put its status before as much of Parliament as could be brought together, and were requested to remain in office. The cabinet was opened to the resistance movement, however, and the personnel of the government contained one out-and-out Communist, one near-Communist, and altogether no fewer than six prominent workers in the resistance underground.

Pierlot himself is more conservative than most of his colleagues, yet he is anything but reactionary. He asked for reforms for miners, as a first step toward economic changes, which make John Lewis look like Calvin Coolidge. But neither Pierlot at the "right" nor the radicals at the left could solve the problem of blind mass anger at hunger, for which Mr. Churchill's old stand against wartime feeding, plus Washington's spineless acquiescence, was chiefly responsible. Nor could any cabinet placate the dissident Communists, seeking to profit politically from carefully staged unrest, even though everything indicates they are a comparatively small minority.

Changes there must be, and I would be the last to suggest that we should be wholly satisfied with the Belgian situation; but the least Americans can do is refuse to take refuge in easy and cruel generalities, and study in each case and country the facts which ought to guide our judgments.

Wilton, Conn. Devere Allen.

[Our correspondent has properly taken exception to a carelessly written sentence. It should have been made plain that what we had in mind was the similarity between Britain's military intervention over the issue of disarming the underground in Greece and in Belgium. But we are glad to have furnished Mr. Allen with the impulse to give this illuminating comment on the Belgian political situation.—The Editors.]

Commons Begins Its Final Session

Expanded Health Services, Industrial Insurance Are among Measures to be Considered in Meeting

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Dec. 4.—The king opened Parliament last week for the sixth time since the war began. In his speech a passage upon which much attention has been directed ran as follows: "My government intends that, as opportunity serves, progress should be made with legislation arising out of the proposals already made public." These include provision of a comprehensive health service, an enlarged and unified system of industrial insurance and others—12 in all. It looks fairly certain that these measures cannot all be passed, if for no other reason than that there will not be time. This week there are to be important debates on housing and on economics and health. This will be the last session of the present House, and much of its character will be determined by that fact.

* * *

Prime Minister Has A Birthday

The prime minister is 70. Many pens and typewriters have been attempting to do justice to this remarkable man, even those called upon to criticize him being among the first to acknowledge the immeasurable debt we owe him. Nothing I have seen will be more likely to please Mr. Churchill himself than an article in the *Spectator* by James Birdie, the Scottish dramatist. Mr. Birdie's main point is not simply the variety of Mr. Churchill's achievements nor his colorful personality, but the truth that in him we have an extremely practical man. Perhaps his English and American friends have missed this; it takes a Scot to understand. No one writer, Mr. Birdie says, could undertake to write the prime minister's story; he suggests how it could be told, beginning with Homer and ending with Beethoven's playing something of a Fifth Symphony. Possibly a committee of Scots, working on a scenario of Homer! They would do justice to the elements of Hamlet, Ariel and Puck, to say nothing of Falstaff.

* * *

Lady Astor Plans To Retire

Lady Astor has announced her intention not to seek re-election to Parliament, 25 years since she made history by being the first of her sex to become a member of the House of Commons. If Mr. Lloyd George can be called "father of the House," she is entitled to be called "mother of the House." The other women who in due course followed her united to celebrate the occasion at a luncheon last week; although of different parties, they were one in their friendship for her and in their acknowledgment of the part she has played. It is due to her not a little that the entrance of women into Parliament has not led to any artificial politeness; she has proved herself almost a master of interruptions, and these were sometimes powerful irritants. The men answered her back as if she were one of them. She has always been fearless, as well as quick in her wit. Her devotion to the causes she made her own, such as temperance, has been unwearied. The experience of these 25 years has made it certain that there is no likelihood of a women's political party, but that there is a distinctive place for women in Parliament. Miss Eleanor Rathbone, who spoke at the farewell luncheon, has herself been a proof of this fact. The children's allowance bill was first championed by her, and for a long time she was almost alone in support of it; now it is approved by almost the entire House of Commons.

* * *

Beveridge Emerges as Leader of Liberals

The entrance of Sir William Beveridge into the political arena has quickened the interest taken in the Liberal party, which he has joined. Sir William has at once secured a good press; his speeches are reported as fully as if he were a cabinet minister. His name has taken its place in the language as a verb, or even an adjective. When the Liberal party conference is held Feb. 1-3, Sir Archibald Sinclair will speak as leader, and in all probability Lady Bonham-Carter will be appointed president of the party organization—the first woman to hold that office. Sir William will be proposed as vice-president. His hand can be detected in the choice of subjects before the conference, which will almost certainly be put by the party before the electorate. That on full employment, for example, is almost entirely pure Beveridge. When the fight begins it will be an asset to the Liberal party to have in the field a man who can stand up to his critics in the realm of economics but at the same time expound his plan in plain language to the man in the street. The temptation that always besets liberals is to be too highbrow. That is the last adjective one would apply to Sir William.

* * *

Schweitzer's Home Is In Path of War

There is much in the war bulletin that recalls Albert Schweitzer's life. We read of Colmar and remember how in that city, as he looked in boyhood at the figure of a Negro carved as part of the memorial to a governor in French Africa, the thought came to him that he owed something to that dark figure. He himself had received much; he must give to those who were without his privileges; "not charity but atonement," he came to express it in later years. From the *Friend* I learn more of the doctor's old home in Alsace and the fears and hopes of his friends. "Last week's Allied advance into Alsace has made friends of Dr. Albert Schweitzer a little anxious as to what may have happened to the doctor's house and property, standing in the village of Gunsbach on the more northerly of two roads down the valley from the Schulcht pass."

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Southern Council Meets in Atlanta

Ask Full Employment as Aid to Racial Amity—Council Favors Abolition of White Primary Elections

(Correspondence from Georgia)

MACON, Dec. 26.—The 75 persons, white and colored, who represent all the southern states from Virginia to Texas in the Southern Regional Council were present at its first annual meeting in Atlanta. This body is the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The council's president, Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina, and the third vice-president, Carter Wesley, Negro newspaper publisher of Houston, Tex., presided over the sessions. Reports of the council's activities during its first year were presented by the executive directors, Guy W. Johnson and Ira DeA. Reid. Resolutions were adopted (1) emphasizing the need for full postwar employment irrespective of race, (2) stressing the importance of equal opportunities for the technical and vocational training of Negroes, (3) urging that the Fair Employment Practices Committee be made permanent and (4) affirming the rights of Negro children to complete equality of educational opportunity. Dismissal from the presidency of the University of Texas of the council's second vice-president, Homer P. Rainey, was pronounced "a startling infringement of personal and academic freedom and a severe blow to those southern persons and agencies working for democratic rights."

* * *

Urge Fair Treatment of Negro Veterans

The principal action of the council was the adoption of some recommendations introduced by Virginius Dabney, editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* in the interest of returning Negro veterans. Stressing the imperative need for prompt action to assure demobilized Negro service men that "the democratic principles for which they fought are to be translated into reality," the recommendations demanded: (1) the employment of all persons on the basis of ability, with due regard for seniority rights; (2) the abolition of the white primary where it exists; (3) the employment of Negro firemen and policemen in southern cities, and equality of treatment, regardless of race, by the police and courts; (4) equalization of educational opportunities, facilities and teachers' salaries for both races; (5) extension of publicly financed low-cost housing; (6) increased publicly financed medical and dental care available to both races on an equal basis; (7) the abolition of jimcrow practices and the provision of equal accommodations for Negroes on public carriers.

* * *

Ask Equalization Of Education

The utter inadequacy of public school opportunities for Negro children in Atlanta

has been revealed by a report presented recently to the city's board of education by the Atlanta Urban League. According to the league's analysis, Negro children comprise more than one-third of the total school age population of the community, but have only one-fifth of the 65 public school buildings; the per pupil expenditure for Negroes is $37, whereas for white pupils it is $108; the city's public school property represents a per capita investment of $887 for Negro pupils as against $2,166 for white pupils; the "double-session" system in overcrowded Negro schools permits the pupils but three and one-half hours of daily instruction, while white pupils get the full six hours. In advocating the elimination of these and other glaring discrepancies which the analysis reveals, the league recommends the expansion and improvement of Negro school facilities.

* * *

Sunday School Teacher Acts as Mediator

When some 20 mutinous prisoners in Atlanta's federal penitentiary obtained weapons, seized four guards as hostages, segregated themselves in a building which became their fortress, and boldly defied prison officials for several days, it was Morgan Blake, an *Atlanta Journal* columnist and a Sunday school teacher, who brought about their surrender and prevented what might have been ghastly bloodshed. After the rebellious convicts had issued an ultimatum to the warden threatening violence to their victims, they requested that Mr. Blake, who had made numerous religious talks at the institution, be summoned to the penitentiary to negotiate an agreement. In the conference that followed the mutineers told Mr. Blake that if he would publish their grievances in the *Atlanta Journal* and bring copies of the paper to them, they would release the guards and surrender. Mr. Blake agreed, and the next day gave the prisoners' complaints front-page publicity in the *Journal*. When he appeared at the penitentiary with several copies of the edition, the mutineers capitulated. Included in the grievances were charges that the inmates do not have proper medical supervision, that religious services are not held regularly, that white men who object to it are being quartered with Negroes, that American inmates are being forced to live with nazi saboteurs and spies, that the prisoners are being denied certain rights of communiciting with the outside world and are deprived of adequate recreational facilities.

* * *

Protests Exclusion from Federal Council

Protesting against the exclusion of his denomination from membership in the Federal Council of Churches, Roger D. Bosworth, pastor of the Unitarian-Universalist church of Atlanta, publicly charges that the council has become a "closed shop." He claims that in refusing membership to the Universalist Church of America the council has gone on record "as voting that a Christian denomination nearly 300 years old and devoted to the teaching and example of Jesus Christ is not Christian." This has been done, he laments, in spite of the fact that the council's constitution and by-laws expressly forbid any creedal text for membership.

J. Maurice Trimmer.

And We Are Whole Again

by HAZEN G. WERNER

Are you in trouble? Has life lost its meaning? Do fear, worry and anxiety haunt you day and night?

Would you like to sit down and talk over your problems with someone who has helped others, someone who has proved to himself the reality of the advice he gives? Then you would enjoy meeting Dr. Werner, who developed a Personal Trouble Clinic in downtown Detroit, in collaboration with the Public Health department, the Police Department, and other public agencies of that city. The next best thing to talking with him, is to read his new book, *And We Are Whole Again,* in which he discusses such problems and how to deal with them.

William James once said, "We and God have business with each other, and in that business our highest destiny is fulfilled." Dr. Werner believes this too, and all he has to say takes this belief into consideration. Everyone seeks happiness, more strenuously as time goes on. Christianity contains the secret of this happiness. But how? That is what Dr. Werner writes about. He believes that happiness is found in simple things . . . in giving not in getting . . . through clean living . . . through faith . . . and surrender to God.

His suggestions are just common sense in full line with modern psychology, medical science and social service, and in complete accord with the heritage and practice of the Christian Church. Through it all throbs a strong personality you are glad to meet. In fact, when you finish the book, so intimate and personal has it been, you feel that you have had a personal interview with the author.

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Denounce Empire Policy in Pacific

Former Missionaries Declare Politics of Revenge Will Fail in Dealing with Japan—Call for Change

(Special Correspondence)

NEW YORK, Jan. 6.—Twenty-one former missionaries in east Asia in a statement on "World Settlement and Japan," today denounced proposals looking toward "coercive, destructive and punitive" postwar treatment of Japan, and asked for the inclusion of that country in a cooperative community of nations. The list of signers was headed by Charles Iglehart, formerly of Japan, E. Stanley Jones, formerly of India, Kenneth Scott Latourette and Daniel Fleming, formerly of India, and E. K. Higdon, formerly of the Philippine Islands. The statement declared that attempts to reduce Japan to "a third-rate agricultural people" are "impossible of enforcement and open to ethical question throughout." It ended by affirming the faith of the signers in "the cohesive force of a world Christian movement." The principal points of the 1,200 word statement follow:

Way Forward Is Open

"We who have lived and worked in Asia in the service of the Christian mission believe that at every stage in national and international life there is a way forward under God's purpose that can be ascertained and taken. The world is in crisis because the nations have followed other ways. The present war grows out of corporate selfishness and injustices to which every nation has contributed its share of guilt. Whatever may be God's judgment as to relative responsibility among the nations, we as Christians must accept as our primary obligation the frank facing of the war's causes, of our part in them and of measures for betterment."

Now on Wrong Path

The statement then listed the causes of war as modern nationalism, "the principle of empire" which "must be abandoned," aggressive economic power and racial and social antagonisms. It declared that the alternative to the way we are going is for Americans "to press on toward the creation of a world community of spirit and interest." It held that "there must be an authority in the political field which will be disinterested and judicial in the administration of law and the settlement of disputes," whose "jurisdiction must extend to all nations" and whose functions should be "not only regulatory but also constructive." The signers declared: "This we urge as a sharp alternative to any of the plans for world or regional organization of the victory on the part of the victors alone and maintained by force of arms. Such plans, although now commonly proposed as the only possible step, are—we believe—a step on the wrong path and therefore to be rejected for the all-inclusive international organization plan."

The remainder of the statement discussed Japan's role in the postwar world. Declaring that that country has "played a worthy role in the modernization of the East and she may do so again," it said that Japan "was caught in the same pagan view of life and swept by the same forces of economic expansion that have played upon the other modern nations, only her cycle of exploitation, empire and war has been more swift and extreme." It noted that the current proposals for the postwar treatment of Japan "call for a ruthless destruction of life and property until unconditional surrender is followed by a military occupation. The United Nations are then to enforce a reconstruction of the internal life of the Japanese people, politically, economically, industrially and in spiritual outlook. Japan is to be demoted from the rank of the first technologically developed nation of Asia to that of a third-rate agricultural people."

No Longer a Menace

This position the signers criticize as unworkable and wrong. "It has slight chance of eliciting from the Japanese people the voluntary cooperation without which they cannot be restored to national health." Furthermore, with a new international order in Asia, "this drastic surgery of Japanese nationhood would be unnecessary. Her domestic reconstruction could begin immediately upon the cessation of war, and it could be carried out largely by herself. Nor could she ever again be a threat to the security of her neighbors. Any international body competent to maintain its authority over the great Western powers in Asia could readily check any possible act of lawlessness on the part of Japan."

Cockpit of Empire

The alternative course, which the signers of this statement believe we are following, will make the Pacific area "the world's cockpit of empire. Imagination fails in contemplation of the explosive possibilities of the Pacific basin if we renounce the attempt to create a new order of life for its people and drift on our way of power struggle to disaster. There is no time to be lost in setting in motion forces for the creation of a cooperative community of nations and peoples in Asia and the world. We urge all governments, and particularly our government, to move boldly ahead in this direction."

Christian Fellowship Stands

The statement ended with a declaration of faith in the world Christian movement. It asserted that Christian world fellowship has not been broken by the war and that Christians "must be quick to gather up the broken threads of a common life after the war and weave them into a pattern of organic unity. This creative task of good will is one which we as Christians cannot escape nor relegate to others and for which we must now be making preparations. In the uncertain years that lie ahead it may be the function of the world Christian fellowship literally to hold the world together." Other signers to the document are T. T. Brumbaugh, Russell L. Durgin, Harold E. Fey, Galen M. Fisher, J. B. Hunter, A. K. Jensen, Frank C. Laubach, Arthur T. Mosher, Vernon Nash, Malcolm Pitt, Dorothy M. Roberts, John Smith, Ray Sweetman, Ralph Templin, Winburn Thomas and Theodore T. Walser. The statement was issued by Dr. Iglehart.

Mexican Groups Join in Crusade

Catholic Organizations Rally to Appeal by Archbishop to Fight Spread of Protestantism in Nation

(Correspondence from Mexico)

MEXICO, D.F., Dec. 15.—Other exhortations to his clergy and people followed the Archbishop of Mexico's pastoral letter summoning all Catholics to a crusade against Protestantism (see correspondence in The Christian Century for Dec. 13). Especially important was an address to the priests recommending, as the best method to counteract the Protestant advance, purity of personal living. The archbishop mentioned "sensuality" as among the sins from which he was anxious to have his priests refrain. A number of religious organizations have proposed methods for the new Catholic crusade. The National Civic Youth issued a proclamation that "the holy Mary of Guadalupe is truly the queen of the nation, with all her spiritual and temporal rights as such." (Notice the stress on *temporal* rights with its political implications.) The same statement rebuked Catholics who "hide their religion in the privacy of their homes" and invited them to erect altars to the virgin in their open windows and porches on Dec. 12, anniversary of her miraculous apparition. On an inspection tour to check the results, your correspondent was not able to discover more than one altar in every nine or ten blocks.

* * *

Catholic Action Responds

The Mexican Catholic Action, in joining the crusade, said it proposed to "deal with the utmost Christian charity with those who are separated from our faith, as it is not our intention to attack any person." The Catholic Association of Mexican Young People expressed itself similarly. The Women's Mexican Catholic Action decided to organize catchism classes "for poor children," to print tracts and "collect funds, toys and clothing for charitable purposes." At least one Catholic called the hierarchy's attention to the importance of the economic side of the crusade. In a letter to the archbishop, H. R. Sandoval expressed little confidence in mere "preaching, pastoral letters and spiritual sanctions," and pointed to the educational, social and recreational work of the Protestants. "Protestantism," he said, "is entering Mexico with the dollar and we have to hold it back with the peso. . . . Your pastoral letter is beautiful, but it is necessary for Catholic money, of which there is plenty, to translate into facts your clamor to heaven. The Catholic must do what the Protestant does: the good for the good's sake."

* * *

Boycott Protestant Business

In spite of the assurance that there would be no violence against persons, some fanatics started a boycott of businesses

owned by Protestants. The main target was Muebleria Nueva, one of the city's largest furniture companies, which is headed by Fernando R. Rodriguez, a Presbyterian layman very active in religious work. Although the archbishop announced that he did not approve of such methods, the attempt to single out Protestants for economic boycott has continued. One Sunday evening an automobile dashed up in front of the Union Church, an English-speaking congregation, shortly after the meeting was over. Its occupants hurled stones through the windows. Panes were broken, but nobody was hurt.

* * *

Synarchist Philosophy Reappears

The press organ of the Synarchists, suppressed by government action not long ago, has reappeared under a new name, *Cantaclaro*. It is devoted entirely to violent and slanderous attacks on Protestantism. As a political movement, Synarchism was also outlawed; but recently another movement came on the scene, so similar to Synarchism that there can hardly be a doubt that it is the same thing under a new label. This "Nationalist Unifying Movement" claims to be six years old, but its tenets indicate a close relation to Synarchism. Speakers at a recent N.U.M. gathering set forth the slogan, "Nationalism and *Hispanidad*"—significantly enough the same as that of the Spanish Falange. The new organization has issued a manifesto stating as its aims the eradication from Mexico of "Protestantism, Masonry and Judaism."

* * *

Labor Paper Gives Space to Protestant Explanation

On Nov. 10 a full-page "Manifesto of the Evangelical People to the Mexican Nation" appeared in *El Popular*, the labor movement's newspaper. Other newspapers flatly refused to carry it, even on paid space. One editor told the committee who requested publication: "I know you are right, that you should not be attacked without an opportunity to defend yourselves, but I am only an employee, and final decision does not rest with me." The reason for such a refusal is obvious—fear of Catholic boycott through powerful Catholic advertisers, the same technique used elsewhere. The manifesto was signed by the pastors of the Federal District, the cost of publication being paid by a collection taken in all the churches. It traces the history of Protestantism in Mexico, pointing out how it began under heavy intolerance and persecution from the Catholic Church. "Protestant martyrs in considerable number sealed the glorious witness to their faith with their blood," it declares. It disposes of the charge that Protestants are traitors by an appeal to history to show that Protestantism has never produced traitors to the fatherland, while the Roman Catholic Church openly engineered the French intervention and the establishment of the foreign-supported empire of Maximilian. Attention is called to the social and educational contribution of Protestantism to the nation's life. The morning the manifesto appeared, hastily assembled committees of Catholics were busy at the newsstands buying up copies of the newspaper. But so far the document has not been answered.

G. Baez-Camargo.

WINNERS *of the 1943/1944* RELIGION IN LIFE *Contest*

★ ★ ★

VERNON H. HOLLOWAY, B.A., B.D.
Secretary of the International and Intercultural Relations of the Council for Social Action, New York, N. Y.

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND RACE RELATIONS delivered before the Stamford Ministers' League while the author was Minister of the Congregational Church of North Stamford, Stamford, Conn.

HARVEY K. McARTHUR, Ph.D.
Chaplain in the United States Army.

LIBERAL CONCESSIONS TO FUNDAMENTALISM delivered before the Woonsocket District Ministerial Association while the author was Pastor of the Blackstone Federated Churches, Blackstone, Mass.

JOHN M. SHAW, M.A., D.D.
Professor of Systemic Theology and Philosophy of Religion, Queens Theological College, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.

THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS AND THE CHRISTIAN FAITH delivered before the Kingston Ministerial Association.

ANSLEY C. MOORE, B.Ph., B.D., D.D.
Minister of the Government Street Presbyterian Church, Mobile, Ala.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL ACTION delivered before The Christian Emergency Committee.

The **THIRD ANNUAL CONTEST** closes June 16, 1945. For further details write the

Contest Editor, RELIGION IN LIFE
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Russian Prelate Warns Ministers

Sees Signs Here of that 'Softness' Which Led to Persecution of Orthodox Church in the Revolution

(Correspondence from Boston)

BOSTON, Dec. 19.—The Metropolitan Benjamin, head of the Russian Orthodox churches in America, came to Boston recently and told the story of his change of heart toward the Russian revolution. "At first I opposed the revolution and was imprisoned. But now I believe the revolution was a good thing for the common people of Russia and a good thing for the church. The Russian Church had grown too rich, too soft; when the revolution took away our wealth we had to find our souls. I thank God for persecution. The cross means persecution. Now the Russian Church has returned to God, to spiritual life. When Stalin closed the seminaries he did a good thing, for the seminaries were corrupt."

* * *

Notes Signs of Decay In Churches

At one point this leader of the Russian Church spoke quietly and said to the humbly listening ministers of Boston: "May I say that I see in the Christian churches of America many of the signs of decay which I saw in the church of Russia before the revolution—considerable wealth, absence of conviction born of persecution, an easygoing religion which accepts things as they are, nominal church loyalty which is not backed up by personal character and conduct." Somehow this man seemed more a prophet than a priest, showing a rare quality of self-criticism as he spoke of his own errors and those of the church before the revolution. He raised serious questions in the minds of his hearers. Is the American church capable of self-criticism and inward reform or must it wait upon outward events?

* * *

Rabbis Present Views On Zionism

Rabbi Morris Lazaron of Baltimore brought the deep difference of opinion regarding the Zionist movement to the mind and heart of Boston yesterday when he presented his conviction that Zionism as a political movement is unwise at this time because it seeks a national state when nationalism is the tragedy of our time. He believes the genius of Judaism is spiritual rather than political. Rabbi Joshua Liebman of Boston took the opposite view, saying that he hoped there could be one place on earth where the Jews "would hold the key" and be hosts rather than guests, often unwanted guests, as they are now. This discussion took place at a meeting of the Interfaith Fellowship, which includes ministers and laymen of many faiths.

* * *

Sees Religion Altered By New Media

J. Edgar Park, former president of Wheaton College, has carefully studied the changes modern life is producing in religion in America. Last week he told the Congregational club his conclusions. Radio makes it unlikely that spellbinding oratory will ever again have large influence. Listeners have become more critical and can compare the ideas of various religious speakers, thus reaching a better informed decision than when they heard one preacher present one point of view. The moving picture by its carefully told story has exposed the haphazard nature of much of our church program. Dr. Park admitted the evil influence of bad moving pictures, but pointed out that a good moving picture has far more influence than a good sermon because it includes fine artistry and visual teaching rather than speech alone.

* * *

Leaders Take Stand On Conscription

Archbishop Richard J. Cushing has taken a clear stand against peacetime conscription. In an editorial in the *Pilot*, official Catholic magazine for Boston, he says: "The state of Europe is the most eloquent possible condemnation of peacetime conscription. This conscription was the accepted thing in Prussia, and Prussia did not keep the peace; it was the accepted thing in France, and France could not keep the peace. It has never solved any problem of war prevention." Daniel L. Marsh, president of Boston University, takes the same stand. "Let us wait until there shall have been time for a revival of sanity after the war is over," he says, "and then there will not be so much danger of crystallizing fear and hysteria into laws that will contravene Christian ideals and abrogate the very genius of American democracy." It seems to be the general conviction among New England churches that peacetime conscription should not be legislated during the war.

* * *

And So Forth

Austin Rice has resigned after 37 years of service from the pastorate of the 300-year-old First Church of Wakefield. His ministry has been marked by unusual pastoral devotion in a town where he knew almost everybody by first name.

Fine work is being done in Quincy, where Chester Underhill is industrial chaplain, working individually with shipyard workers and their families. Although he holds a few public meetings, his chief work is counseling with individuals in trouble over liquor, family unrest, war nerves and housing problems. Alcoholics Anonymous has helped him greatly in cases of drunkenness. This industrial chaplaincy is the answer to the present wartime need of going where the people live and work instead of waiting for them to come to the churches, which they may or may not do.

CARL HEATH KOPF.

Chiang Extols Jesus as Social Revolutionary

In a radio message to the churches of China on Christmas Eve, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek said that his study had convinced him that "Jesus was not only the Savior of mankind, but also the leader of a national social religious revolution." Chiang declared that "the revolutionary force Jesus gave to the world is not unlike that inspired by our Three People's Principles."

Nisei Worship With Unitarians

First Church Opens Hall to Buddhist Congregation—Interfaith Shrine Proposed by Chicago Lawyer

(Correspondence from Northern Ohio)

CLEVELAND, Dec. 27.—Typical of the friendship shown Americans of Japanese descent in Cleveland under the federal program of resettlement was the opening of Channing Hall in First Unitarian Church on Dec. 10 for the first service of worship by a Buddhist group. About 35 Buddhists had been recruited from more than 1,600 nisei now located in Greater Cleveland. Previously they had also been offered the facilities of Trinity Cathedral by Beverley D. Tucker, Protestant Episcopal bishop of Ohio, and Chester B. Emerson, cathedral dean. The Unitarian pastor is Everett Moore Baker. Since the national council of the Episcopal Church sent Shunji Forrest Nishi, a young priest, to the staff of the church federation more than a year ago, large numbers of the nisei have joined Christian churches of their own choosing. At least two have accepted church staff positions and one is a Y.M.C.A. boys' work secretary. Almost without exception the resettlers have excellent work records. In a newspaper poll taken in connection with the announcement that Japanese-Americans would be permitted to return to the west coast, a majority indicated intention to make their permanent home here.

* * *

Church Federation Initiates Volunteer Chaplaincies

The religious work department of the Cleveland church federation recently announced a system of volunteer chaplaincies to supplement the ministry in hospitals and public institutions officially carried by the Episcopal chaplaincy service and the Missouri Synod Lutheran Church. Episcopal staff workers, who have represented the whole of Protestant interests for 30 years, will continue to serve. Thirty-five clergymen with churches near private hospitals and nursing homes have agreed to take care of these institutions along with their pastoral responsibilities. The plan will be extended until all known hospitals and homes, numbering about 125, have volunteer chaplains. This scheme is an outgrowth of a survey taken last year by David Loegler, minister of the Church of Our Lord (Evangelical) and chaplain at Marine hospital, who is chairman of the federation's committee on institutional ministry.

* * *

Chicagoan Proposes National Interfaith Shrine

Erection of a national shrine in Washington as a tribute to the roles played by Protestants, Catholics and Jews in American history was proposed by Barnett Hodes, Chicago corporation counsel, here a few days ago. He spoke before the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, of which he is past president and chairman for civil liberties. Almost simultaneously

the editor of the *Jewish Independent* here urged the building of a memorial in Washington for the four army chaplains who died together on the transport Dorchester after aiding the men aboard to leave the torpedoed ship. The two proposals have been much discussed. One of the daily newspapers has paired them and promised its support in the interest of interfaith good will.

* * *

Asks 'Sovereign Equality' For Small Nations

In a strong plea for the "sovereign equality" of small nations, Sumner Welles, former undersecretary of state, expressed hope that victory would not bring unwarranted encroachment by the great powers upon other independent peoples. Mr. Welles spoke here in one of the Newton D. Baker memorial lectures of the Council on World Affairs. Spheres of influence built upon untrammeled control will not only make world organization founded upon law and order illusory, he said, but will result in greater and more devastating international conflicts in the future. The former undersecretary praised the work done at Dumbarton Oaks and offered freedom of religion, of expression and of information as his suggestions for conditions a nation should meet for admission to the international organization.

* * *

Principal Says Fear Prompts Military Training

Speaking before the Community Religious Hour forum in Cleveland College, Lawrence E. Vredevoe, principal of the large Lakewood suburban high school, said fear of youth was at the base of reasons given for compulsory military training. He listed as spurious arguments that such training would insure strong national defense, make for world peace, promote physical development, fulfill the need for discipline, develop technical skills and build character. He advocated a broader, more democratic and comprehensive program for youth, including vacations and camping, with emphasis upon physical fitness and with special consideration for mental and emotional misfits.

* * *

And So Forth

East Shore Methodist Church, Euclid, and Christ Episcopal Church, Shaker Heights, laid cornerstones for new parish house additions on Dec. 17.

The new minister of Heights Christian Church will be Waymon Parsons, who comes from Central Christian Church, Sharon, Pa. He will begin work Jan. 1.

The Cleveland church federation is engaged in a campaign for $30,000 toward a gross budget of $55,000 for 1945.

O. M. Walton.

Magnes Proposes Plan For Palestine

In a letter to the *Nation*, Dr. Judah L. Magnes, for more than twenty years president of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, outlines a solution of the Palestine problem which he believes would be accepted by both Arabs and Jews. His proposal is to permit Jewish immigration until numerical parity between the two groups has been established, to provide for political equality, and to satisfy Arab aspirations by making this bi-national Palestine part of a larger union which would also contain Transjordan, Syria and Lebanon.

Pastors Second Council

Pittsburgh Group Answers Charge that Local Peace Is Disturbed

Pittsburgh, Pa., Dec. 20.—Following the published charge by a parish priest that all was peaceful in Protestant-Catholic relations in Pittsburgh until the Federal Council raised the issue of a government representative at the Vatican at its recent convention here, 17 of the city's Protestant clergymen united in a declaration announcing their complete support of the council's stand. The document, which was published in the local press, reiterated the desirability of the complete separation of church and state and pointed out that a majority of the Protestant churches of the city are represented in the council. Signers of the declaration included ministers of Christian, Methodist, Presbyterian, United Presbyterian, Lutheran, Episcopal and Baptist churches, as well as the Episcopal and Methodist bishops of the area and the presidents of the Western and the Reformed Presbyterian theological seminaries.

* * *

Minister Honored on 20th Anniversary

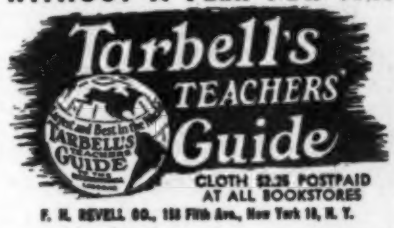
Messages of congratulation from local civic and religious leaders and from outstanding churchmen throughout the nation were read at the service held on Dec. 9 in observance of the 20th anniversary of H. D. McKeehan as pastor of Abbey Church in Huntingdon, Pa.

John Ray Ewers.

Russian Churches Thank Baptists for Aid

Soviet Evangelical and Baptist church leaders recently proclaimed "especially dear to us" the more than 200,000 Russian War Relief family household kits sent to the U.S.S.R. by American Baptists, "our brothers in Christ," for distribution in devastated Soviet areas. The message of thanks was forwarded from Yakov Zhidkov, chairman of the council of Evangelists and Baptists of the Soviet Union, who had just returned from a tour among communions of the two religious bodies in parts of the Ukraine, Belorussia and Crimea which were until recently occupied by the Germans.

WITHOUT A PEER FOR 1945



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Willett, Clark

Churches Launch Joint Campaign

New York Protestant Activities Will Benefit from Drive—World Bill of Rights Is Formulated

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Dec. 21.—A joint campaign in support of Protestant activities in New York city, to be launched in February by the Protestant council and its six constituent organizations, was announced Monday by its president, Cleveland E. Dodge. The new council represents the 1,500,000 Protestants in New York city. Charles H. Tuttle, counsel to the New York state commission against discrimination, has accepted the chairmanship of the campaign, whose goal is $800,000 for 1945. The organizations forming the council carry the main burden of Protestant work in the city in church and welfare fields and in the increasingly important work with service men and veterans. They are the Brooklyn church and mission federation; the Protestant council's division of Christian education, comprising the work of four agencies; the federation of Protestant welfare agencies; the Greater New York federation of churches; the Queens federation of churches and the Service Men's Council.

* * *

Project Will Extend Scope of Service

"This campaign," Mr. Dodge announced, "represents a true milestone in the efforts toward a united Protestantism for which so many devoted New Yorkers have worked so long and which is so gravely needed amid the turmoil of war and reconstruction. The Catholics and Jews of the city long ago set up central coordinating organizations and have benefited by them in increased strength and efficiency. Protestantism, suffering for lack of similar facilities, has had a difficult time making its city-wide service adequate and available, and its influence for good more widely felt. Our movement, however, is not in any way associated with any form of intolerance or competition. Our hope is that the Protestants of New York, working together in this campaign, will draw closer to each other and become progressively able to augment their service and their spiritual mission in this community."

* * *

War Resisters Criticize Dumbarton Oaks

"The events of the last week in Italy and Greece have confirmed our criticism of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals," declared Jessie Wallace Hughan, secretary of the War Resisters League, in a statement releasing the resolution embodying the executive committee's viewpoints. "The proposed five-power alliance," Dr. Hughan continued, "is unlikely to obtain security for small nations or even to hold together long enough to set up a peace guaranteed by international force. . . . We see [the proposals] as representing no true international arrangement but the domination of the world by the five most heavily armed powers." The resolution pointed out the aspects of the proposals which make them, if unchecked, a menace to the development of a peaceful and just world order: imperialism; lack of consideration of the causes of war in race tensions, economic inequalities and territorial injustices; and the leaving of armament regulation to the military staff committee of the five powers.

* * *

New Organization Abets Military Training

A new organization has been formed in New York, the Citizens Committee for Universal Military Training. Claiming that "military unpreparedness invites war—reasonable military readiness renders attack unlikely," the committee announced Sunday the beginning of a nation-wide campaign in support of "a continuous year" of military training for high school graduates 18 years old. The chairman of the committee is Douglas Arant of Birmingham, Ala.; co-chairmen are William R. Mathews of Tucson, Ariz., Orville J. Taylor of Chicago and Archibald G. Thacher of Manhattan. Mr. Thacher stated that the committee would undertake "to convince the American public of the absolute need of a national system of military training for the United States."

* * *

Pamphlet Appeals for Religious Liberty

The joint committee on religious liberty of the Federal Council of Churches and the Foreign Mission Conference last week published a document entitled *Religious Liberty: Meaning and Significance for Our Day*. This is a first step in a broad educational campaign undertaken by national church agencies to promote and protect the exercise of human rights. Stressing the relation of all human freedoms to world order, the pamphlet sets forth some of the problems of religious liberty which are now crucial in our domestic and international life and describes some of the steps already taken by Christian leaders in this country and abroad to approach a solution of these problems. Referring to conditions in American life, it points out that although religious liberty has been secured by our people to a remarkable degree, we must see to it that we hold a "constructively critical" attitude toward those conditions.

* * *

World Bill of Rights Is Urged

On the day of the 153rd anniversary of the ratification of the American Bill of Rights, a resolution signed by 1,326 distinguished Americans of all faiths asked for an international bill of rights to serve as a postwar guarantee of individual liberties throughout the world, and called for the establishment of the new world on the basis of the "dignity and inviolability of the person." The resolution, officially entitled "Declaration of Human Rights," was made public through the American Jewish Committee. Among the signers are Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, President Roosevelt, Vice-President Wallace, Supreme Court justices, governors, mayors, members of Congress, labor leaders and 348 church leaders.

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

Return of Nisei Creates Division

Oregon Split over Japanese-American Return Order—Portland Is Host to Alcohol Study Group

(Correspondence from Oregon)

PORTLAND, Dec. 26.—Imminent return of evacuated Japanese to the Pacific coast has provoked a variety of comments from Oregonians. Bitter opposition and concern over possible violence on the part of some groups is matched by strong pleas for proper regard for the constitutional rights of citizens of Japanese ancestry. For some time feeling has been tense. Following the demand by Grange masters, early in the fall, for legislation "prohibiting American-born children of Japanese parentage to become citizens, own property or enjoy permanent residence within the continental United States," a farmers' and business men's front appeared under the title, "Oregon Anti-Japanese, Inc." Certain American Legion forces joined the fight for permanent exclusion. The Hood River Legion post erased from its county war memorial the names of 16 men of Japanese ancestry now in the service. Appeals for fair play, essential Americanism and the Christian spirit by the Portland council of churches brought threats of violence to its president, one of the city's leading laymen. The Portland press has stood squarely for the rights of the nisei, stating that opposition movements are rooted not in patriotic but in economic motives. Portland's mayor thinks the return premature. The order becomes effective on Jan 2. Christian forces are preparing to welcome the nisei back to their homes. Others are openly predicting violence.

* * *

Yale Conducts Traveling Alcohol School

Leaving its campus for the first time, the Yale University school on alcohol studies, under the direction of Dr. E. M. Jellinek, held a week's session in Portland recently. A distinguished faculty conducted an intensive course attended by more than 1,500 delegates from the northwest. Students included state officials, social workers, ministers and educators. Declaring that, of the 135,000,000 people of the United States, 50,000,000 drink alcoholic beverages, and of these 2,500,000 drink to excess while 675,000 are addicts, the school dealt with physiological, psychological and sociological aspects of the problem.

* * *

Churches to Aid War Veterans

A ministry to returning service men is to be conducted under the joint auspices of the Portland council of churches and the Y.M.C.A. Offices for the director and his staff are in the Y.M.C.A. building. A counseling service will assist veterans in reorientation.

* * *

Open Center for Venereal Disease Treatment

Oregon's first institution devoted exclusively to the treatment of venereal disease has been made possible by a special Federal Works Agency grant of Lanham Act funds. Under the auspices of the state board of health, a treatment center equipped with the most modern facilities has been opened. It is a hospital, not a penal institution. Those admitted are to be treated as patients, not as delinquents. The Oregon Tuberculosis Association has organized a department of social hygiene and will operate a state-wide program of sex education particularly with respect to venereal diseases, which have reached an all-time high. Fred Sherer, social worker and former Presbyterian pastor, is in charge of the department. Cooperating is the American Social Hygiene Association.

* * *

Congregationalists Face Race Relations Problem

Oregon Congregationalists, through their department of social action, have sponsored a project in race relations on an interchurch basis. Supported entirely by denominational funds, George L. Thomas, attorney in Washington, D. C., and prominent Negro leader, comes to Portland for 1945 to serve as an associate secretary of the council of churches and to give direction to a strong and Christian approach to what is admittedly one of Oregon's most crucial problems, resulting from the influx of thousands of Negroes, most of whom are now employed in war industries.

* * *

Frank Laubach Stirs Portland Churches

Speaking before church and civic groups, Frank Laubach, famed missionary from the Philippines, made a profound impression by his appeal for American leadership to help depressed areas of the world by spreading literacy and changing poverty and destitution into economic security. He said, "If we give people hope and vision, then we shall lay the foundations for permanent world peace and America will be the best-loved nation the world has known." He outlined a postwar program for American churches which involves sending 100,000 missionaries throughout the earth. He urged that the movement be financed by the giving of war bonds, thus making them peace bonds and undergirding the most audacious forward movement of church history.

* * *

And So Forth

Portland's war chest campaign topped its goal and attained an all-time high of $1,661,103.

James Millar, recently field representative of the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education in the northwest, has become a member of the staff of the Oregon council of churches.

Lewis and Clark College (Presbyterian) is campaigning for funds in the first unit of a 25-year plan for converting a million-dollar estate, now owned by the college, into a community institution offering "personalized education related to current social needs."

Leslie Logan, for four years pastor of Methodism's downtown First Church in Portland, has accepted field work with the national Anti-Saloon League. He is succeeded at First Church by Laurence E. Nye, associate at Hennepin Avenue Church, Minneapolis.

RAYMOND B. WALKER.

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Chicago Churches Aid Relocation

Hope to Establish Unsegregated Homes, Draw Family Units into Already Established Congregations

CHICAGO, Dec. 26.—Various church groups in Chicago have taken active part in helping Japanese-Americans who have come to the city from relocation centers to adjust themselves to their new life. Although many factors tend still to encourage them to feel that they are merely transients, the joint committee of the American Friends Service Committee and the Baptist Home Mission Society, which is serving their interests, finds among them increasing signs which point to a more permanent residence. Some 60 of the 6,500 resettlers have started purchasing homes, children have been entered in the city schools, household goods are being brought from west coast storage and jobs of a more permanent type are being obtained.

Most needed among the resettlers, the committee feels, is the re-establishment of normal family units. Fully 81 per cent are single persons.

Employment Not Hard to Find

Jobs have been comparatively easy to find in Chicago. In fact, skilled and professional workers have found wider opportunity and greater acceptance in Chicago than on the west coast before evacuation. Adequate housing, however, is almost unavailable. There have been some cases of discrimination, and relocatees tend to concentrate in neighborhoods where acceptance has been proved. This has led to an undesirable segregation, although strenuous efforts have been made to prevent it.

The nature of the committee's work has changed as government agencies serving the relocatees have expanded the scope of their service. At first, a hostel was operated; some 2,000 jobs were obtained for newly arrived nisei; 600 single persons and families were assisted in finding homes; more than 450 students were assisted in enrolling in suitable schools.

The Chicago church federation has established a department with a secretary who was formerly a missionary in Japan. A committee of five members from different denominations meets regularly to coordinate work being done to bring nisei into closer relation with established church life. Ministers of all churches in the federation have been made acquainted with the problem, and urged to see that nisei in their neighborhoods are invited to take part in all activities.

Nisei Ministers at Work

The aim is to integrate newcomers into already existing Caucasian churches rather than develop segregated churches. So far there are only two of the latter: a Christian church that was here before the war, and a Holiness group. There are two Buddhist societies. The First Baptist church has as assistant pastor a young nisei who each Sunday conducts two services attended by hundreds of nisei and Caucasian young people. A young nisei Episcopal minister devotes his time to introducing newcomers to Episcopal churches in their neighborhoods and assists in the Thursday communion service at one church. Sam Takagishi, recently graduated from Iliff School of Theology, is employed by the Methodist Church at present to integrate nisei into the activities of one Methodist church in the city. When his work there is finished, he will move to another. The Presbyterian Board of Missions has a missionary couple doing similar work, while the Church of the Brethren employs a nisei girl and a theological student to extend its program for relocatees into all local churches.

American Zionist Leaders Split

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, one of the chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, resigned on Dec. 25 after a stormy meeting of the council over its efforts to secure approval by the Senate foreign relations committee of a resolution favoring free entry of Jews into Palestine. Dr. Wise charged that he could no longer hold office because of the actions of another official of the council, whom he did not name. Thereupon Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, the other co-chairman, also resigned. Although the press reported the split with reserve, it was understood that Dr. Wise resented what he interpreted as an effort by Dr. Silver to high-pressure the Senate into taking action at variance with the wishes of the U. S. state department.

Admiral Lashes C.O.'s

Irate Charge Serves to Gain Friends for Church's Benefit Fund

NEW HAVEN, CONN., Dec. 26.—Several New England newspapers recently published an indignant letter signed by Rear Admiral F. D. Berrien, U.S.N., retired, a resident of New Haven. The letter denounced conscientious objectors as unworthy of citizenship and asked whether the churches are again going to weaken the country's defenses by encouraging pacifism. It was the retired officer's response to an invitation sent him and several hundred others to attend a benefit musicale at Trinity Episcopal parish house to raise funds for the national committee for conscientious objectors of the American Civil Liberties Union. No one rose to his support, and a number of persons otherwise uninterested so objected to the tone of his letter that they sent the sponsoring committee generous contributions.

* * *

Churches Concerned Over Jail

In an open letter to the county commissioners issued last week, the New Haven council of churches called upon them to institute a comprehensive survey of the county jail. The letter was the outcome of a study of the jail situation by the council's social relations committee. Conditions at this jail have long been the concern of responsible citizens. In addition to listing some of the immoral conditions existing there as recently revealed by the state referee, the council declared that the care of the men committed to the jail has been entrusted to "politically elected and appointed or a mockery." The letter asked that the survey be made by qualified experts in penology and made recommendations for raising the institution to the highest possible standards.

* * *

Cancel Churches' Radio Program

The new management of station WELI, New Haven, last week notified the city council of churches that it is canceling the council's morning devotions program. This program has been a continuous feature of the station for nine years and has a wide listening public. The management makes no criticism of the church program but expresses its intention of employing a public entertainer for the 90 minutes now occupied by that program.

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Pickett Installed at Plymouth Church

Before a gathering of church members, ministers, city officials and community leaders at the Plymouth Congregational Church, Warren P. Pickett was officially installed as minister last Wednesday. Dr. Pickett recently came to this largest Congregational church in the city from Detroit, where he was pastor of the downtown First Congregational Church. The installation sermon was preached by Charles R. Brown, dean emeritus of Yale Divinity School, and the charge to the new minister was presented by David N. Beach, pastor of Center Church.

E. RALPH WIBORG.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores
M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

Can't Help Singing (Univ.) Deanna Durbin, Robert Paige. *Musical* interludes accompany senator's daughter in trek to California gold fields in pursuit of her lover. Glittering technicolor sets the mood for this fabulous journey by wagon train. *Superficial musical comedy.* M, Y

Enter Arsene Lupin (Univ.) *Melodrama.* Notorious French thief sacrifices chance for escape to rescue a lovely lady from relatives with murderous intent. A contrived plot smoothly done to provide *fair entertainment as thriller.* M

Frenchman's Creek (Par.) *Melodrama.* 17th century baroness steals away from humdrum life to join forays with pirate lurking near Cornish coast, returns in end to convention. A swashbuckling, stiffly done tale, extravagantly set and costumed. *Escapist romance.* M, Y

Irish Eyes Are Smiling (Fox) *Musical.* Songs by Ernest Ball set in fictionized account of composer's career. Elaborately set, in technicolor, this is *sentimentalized, routine* backstage fare. Pleasant, tuneful—but by no means outstanding. M, Y

30 Seconds Over Tokyo (MGM) Van Johnson, Phyllis Thaxter, Spencer Tracy, Robert Walker. *Drama* based on factual account of first Tokyo raid. After oversentimental preliminaries, this becomes a revealing use of film medium to set down in *memorable terms* experiences of men under the stress of an event already known to the audience. Done with understatement. M, Y

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: The Adventures of Mark Twain, An American Romance, Going My Way, Home in Indiana, Madame Curie, Mr. Winkle Goes to War, The Sullivans, Wilson, Wing and a Prayer.

For Mature Audience: The Battle of the Marianas, Destination Tokyo, Double Indemnity, Dragon Seed, Gaslight, None but the Lonely Heart, 1812, Since You Went Away, The Seventh Cross, The Song of Bernadette, Summer Storm, Two Girls and a Sailor, Voice in the Wind. 1-10-45

To be published on January 15

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Two Other Significant Books
(Published January 15)

The Philosophical Heritage of the Christian Faith

By HAROLD A. BOSLEY

Never before in the history of the world has the need been so acute for an assured faith in religion. Men require, as never before, the confidence that comes from the conviction that the universe has been created by, and is sustained by, a loving Deity.

In this new book Dr. Bosley reveals how religion has been bulwarked by the great philosophers. Aristotle, Plato, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas and many modern philosophers are shown championing belief in a God of mercy and love.

The book is characterized by assured scholarship and lucidity. **$2.00**

Greater Good Neighbor Policy

By WADE CRAWFORD BARCLAY

Some people will call this a controversial book, but they will be missing the point. Dr. Barclay writes in an eminently fair and tolerant spirit, drawing from a wide range of sources, both Protestant and Catholic, North and Latin American. He is prompted by his awareness of acute needs of our sister republics, and by his sense of the critical stage that has been reached in inter-American relationships. He pleads for cooperation among Christian forces, in order that democracy and the Four Freedoms may spread throughout this hemisphere.

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